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THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

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"THERE are few things," says Mr. Fergusson,* "which at first sight appear to us at the present day so strange, or less easy to account for, than that worship which was once so generally offered to the serpent-god. If not the oldest, it ranks, at least, among the earliest forms through which the human intellect sought to propitiate the unknown powers. Traces of its existence are found not only in every country

* Introduction, p. 1.

of the Old World; but before the New was discovered by us, the same strange idolatry had long prevailed there, and even now the worship of the serpent is found lurking in out-of-the-way corners of the globe, and startles us at times with the unhallowed rites which seem generally to have been associated with its prevalence." There is abundant evidence to prove the truth of these statements, and it will probably surprise those who think that serpent-worship was an ancient Asiatic practice, to be told that it prevailed in Italy under the Romans, and was found in full vigor in Mexico by the Spaniards when they invaded that country. In the present article we propose to summarize this evidence—to give it in detail would occupy too much space—and to discuss the nature and meaning of serpent-worship.

This worship seems to have been nearly universal among the primitive nations of the earth. It may be traced wherever there existed a monument of civilization or humanity.* In ancient Egypt the serpent was worshipped with a certain degree of pre-eminence over other animals, but not exclusively. The Egyptians worshipped all created beings in a greater or less degree. Their heroes and kings were gods; and they paid divine honors to bulls, beetles, crocodiles, cats, and dogs; so that it can only be said that the serpent was more honored by them than his associated gods.† He frequently appears in the sculptures of the temples and in a place of honor, such as the brow of a king, or as a prominent ornament of his dress; yet it would be incorrect to designate the Egyptians as serpent-worshippers only. The reptile was much more honored by the original inhabitants of Canaan and Syria than by them. The ancient coins of Tyre contain representations of the serpent, and there is the testimony of that most ancient author, Sanchoniathon, who is supposed to have lived before the Trojan war,—‡that is to say, in the twelfth century before the

* Tod *Rajast'han*, vol. i, p. 580. † Herodotus, ii, 74.

‡ Quoted by Eusebius, *Præ. Evan.*, i, 9, and by Müller, *Fragmenta*, iii, 572.

Christian era, according to the received chronology, or in the ninth, according to more recent investigations—to the estimation in which serpents were held in his time by the Phœnicians and the Egyptians. He says:

"Taautus attributed a certain divine nature to dragons and serpents, an opinion which was afterwards adopted both by the Phœnicians and the Egyptians. He teaches that this genus of animals abounds in force and spirit more than any other reptiles; that there is something fiery in their nature; and, though possessing neither feet nor any external members for motion common to other animals, yet they are more rapid in their motion than any others. Not only has it the power of renewing its youth, but in doing so it receives an increase of size and strength, so that after having run through a certain term of years it is again absorbed within itself. For these reasons, this class of animals were admitted into temples, and used in sacred mysteries. By the Phœnicians they were called "the good dæmon," which was the term also applied by the Egyptians to Cneph, who added to him the head of a hawk to symbolize the vivacity of that bird."

We quote this paragraph to prove the antiquity of serpent-worship among the Canaanites (though there is evidence to carry it much very further back), but not as testimony to the object or the origin of that worship. It may well have been the case that the peculiar qualities of the reptile here alluded to may have procured for it additional honors, but the cause of the worship is more deeply rooted, as we shall see further on. We content ourselves, at present, with disputing the soundness of Sanchoniathon's deduction that "*for these reasons* this class of animals were admitted into temples." The truth is, that the worship of the serpent had its origin in symbolism, and not in the reverencing of certain peculiarities of the reptile. It was common to human nature, and not to the perceptions or the imagination of any one nation or religious teacher. Thus, although Herodotus tells us that Hercules is said to have been the progenitor of the whole race of serpent-worshipping Scythians through his intercourse with the serpent-maiden, Echidna,* it is well known that the

* Herodotus, iv, 9.

ancient Turanian race, of whom a large substratum of the aboriginal population of Greece consisted, worshipped the serpent from the remotest antiquity. In fact, there was a period long anterior to the time of Hercules, when serpent-worship was universal. Lucan refers to this in his lines,—*

> "Nos quoque, qui *cunctis* innoxia Numina *terris*
> Serpitis, aurato nitidi fulgore, Dracones."

Mr. Deane, whose work is disfigured by his persistent endeavors to force every fact which he has picked up to fit in with his theory respecting the fall of man, has collected a great deal of evidence in corroboration of the universality of serpent-worship in the most ancient times; and, when we consider that it prevailed among the races from whom the different European nations are descended, it is no wonder that traces of it should be found in countries where we should least expect to find it; such as Sweden, Germany, and England. That the Pelasgic inhabitants of Greece and Asia Minor, the first inhabitants of these lands, were addicted to it, may be inferred from many of their myths. One of the oldest of these is that of the destruction of the serpent Python by the god Apollo. This Python is described as being a vast dragon, "a son of the earth," which gave responses from the oracle in Mount Parnassus,† though Lucian says that a virgin delivered the oracle, and a dragon spoke from under the tripod. This speaking, on the part of the dragon or serpent, was, of course, a trick of the priests; but it shows that the people believed in the serpent or dragon. There seems to be no real or scientific difference between the Greek words Δράκων and Ὄφις, except that the former is applied to the larger and the latter to the smaller kind of snakes. The Latins, however, appear to have distinguished them by the words *anguis*, *serpens*, and *draco*, according to the popular definition—"Anguis aquarum, Serpens ter-

* Pharsalia, lib. ix, 727.

† Hyginus, *fab.* 140. Lucian *de Astrologiâ*, p. 544.

rarum, Draco templorum;" or, as we should put it, when a water-snake was spoken of, it was called an eel; when a land-snake, it was called a serpent; and when a snake was employed in a temple, it was called a dragon; but this word "dragon," so applied, must not be understood to mean the flying-monster of mythology and of the early Christian legends.* The popular belief among the Greeks in the wisdom of serpents, and especially in reference to this oracular Python, is evidenced by the existence of a circular grove in Epirus, which was surrounded by a wall; in it serpents were kept, which, it was said, were descendants of the great Python of Delphi, and were dedicated to Apollo. On the great festival of the year, a virgin priestess entered the grove, naked, holding in her hand the sacred food. If the serpents took the food readily, a fruitful harvest and a plentiful year were sure to follow; if they refused, it was considered the gloomiest of auguries.† A similar custom prevailed at Lanuvium, a place situated sixteen miles south of Rome, where there was a large, dark grove, and near it a temple of Juno. In this grove was a deep cave, the abode of a great serpent, and the virgins of Latium were taken there annually to offer food to it. If the reptile accepted it, their purity was considered established, and a good season was expected.‡ But the actual worship of the serpent was not formally established in Italy until the year 462 before Christ, when an embassy was sent from Rome to Epidaurus to obtain the sacred snake, and the reptile was received with divine honors by the populace of Rome, who believed it had power to stay the plague which was then desolating the city.§ This well-authenticated fact proves that the people were disposed to adopt the new deity, whence it may be inferred that the worship of it was known to them, and had probably been practised by them long previously.

* Fergusson, *Introductory Essay*, p. 13 n.

† Œlian. *de Animal*, xi, 2. ‡ Propertius, *Eleg.* viii, 4.

§ Valerius Maximus, 1, 8–2. A. Victor, xxii, 1.

The learned Bryant supposes that serpent-worship was first practised in Chaldæa, and that it was a variation of Sabœism, or the primitive worship of the sun, moon, and stars.* In proof of this he cites the fact, mentioned by Macrobius,† that the serpent was the sacred symbol of Sabœism. There is, however, very little evidence of its having been practised by the Babylonians; both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus are silent on the subject, except that the latter tells us that in the temple of Belus there was an image of the goddess Rhea, sitting on a golden throne, and near her were very large silver serpents, each thirty talents in weight; also an image of Juno, holding the head of a serpent in her right hand.‡ In the absence of direct testimony, Mr. Deane has recourse to etymology, which, he contends, displays an intimate connection between serpent-worship and the names of gods, men, and places. Thus the name of the Babylonian deity Bel, which is supposed to mean "Lord," is, he supposes, derived from the Hebrew or, rather, the Semitic, words *Ob* and *El*, the former signifying a serpent, and the latter god; hence the name means the serpent-god. We confess to believing that he has purposely strained a point here to suit his favorite hobby. The word is also, and more correctly, written *Baal* or Bal, and is found in numerous compounded names of places and men more or less connected with the worship of fire; such as Balthazar, Balbec, Asdrubal, Hannibal, Ithobal; and in the Irish names Ballina, Ballyshannon, and the like; where it signifies lord of fire, or the sun; the word Belzebub signifies "lord of flies;" Belshazzar, "lord or master of treasure." However, Bryant says the Greeks called Bel *BEΛΙΑΡ* and *BEΛΙΑΛ*, which Hesychius translates "a great serpent." It appears to be a compound of the Hebrew words Bel and Aur, "the lord of light;" *i. e.*, of the sun.

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* *Ant. Mythology*, vol. ii, p. 458. † *Saturnalia*, lib. i, c. 20.
‡ Lib. ii, s. 70.

The Hebrew or Chaldean terminal *On* is also significant in this context. It signifies "sorrow," "strength," "iniquity." It is found in the word Abaddon, "the prince of iniquity," which is, by Deane, said to mean "the serpent lord,"* but it is probably derived from the Persian word *Zon*, the sun. The Greeks added it to their word Apollyon, "the destroyer," (*Apollo* and *Au*, whence *Απολλῶν*). St. John says that the two names have the same meaning. "They had a king over them, who is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name, in the Hebrew tongue, is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon."† Eusebius says that the Persians worshipped the first principles under the form of serpents, having dedicated to them temples in which they performed sacrifices, and held festivals and orgies, esteeming them the greatest of gods and governors of the universe.‡ Ormuzd and Ahriman were represented as serpents standing on their tails, contending for the egg, which represents the world, into which they have fixed their teeth. In the Zendavesta, Ahriman, the principle of evil, is represented as having assumed a serpent's form to destroy the first of the human species, whom he accordingly poisoned.§ The Persian god Mithra was represented encircled by a serpent; so was their god Azon, who was, perhaps, identical with Mithra; and in some of the ruined temples of Persia may be traced the figures of men worshipping the sun, fire, and a serpent.‖

The serpent plays a conspicuous part in the Hindoo mythology. It was used in the religious festivals of the Hindoos. Religious honors were paid to it; and, in some parts of Hindustan, it was a capital crime to destroy snakes. The Hindoo god Sani is represented as encircled by two serpents, and the goddess Devi assumed the form of one when she carried Vishnu over the waters of the Deluge. Vishnu himself is sometimes seen sleeping on a coiled snake, and sometimes

* p. 45. † Revelation, ix, 11. ‡ *Præp. Evang.*, i, 42.
§ Faber, *Hor. Mos.*, 1, 72. ‖ Bryant, *Anal.*, i, 276.

encompassed in its folds; and Twashta, the great artificer of the universe, is supposed to have borne the form of one.* Jagan-Nath (Juggernaut) is sometimes worshipped under the form of a seven-headed dragon; and Deonaush (the Dionusos of the Greeks) was metamorphosed into a snake. Siva and his consort, Parvati, are surrounded with snakes; and, in fact, it is superfluous to dwell upon the subject, for any one who is at all acquainted with Hindoo literature and antiquities, with the curious images and idols exhibited in museums, and with the illustrations of travels and other works on Hindustan, must have seen enough to satisfy himself as to the extent to which serpent-worship was carried in that country in ancient as well as in modern times.†

In China, from time immemorial, the dragon has been the emblem of the empire. It is sculptured in all the temples, and blazoned on the vestments of the imperial family and the nobility. The Chinese believe that there is a dragon of extraordinary power in the air, in heaven, on the waters and the mountains; also, that their first emperor, Fo-hi, had the form of a man, terminating in the tail of a snake, and that two dragons attended Confucius soon after his birth. The Japanese have similar superstitions.‡ Thus serpent-worship was at one time universal in Asia. We are, therefore, the less surprised to find that it was adopted by the Hebrews, and that the serpent plays so important a part in their theology. It is not our intention to discuss here the interpretation of the third chapter of Genesis, nor of other portions of Scripture wherein the serpent figures; but there are certain etymological considerations connected with the reptile, as conceived by the Hebrews, which throw light on other portions of history, and to which we now turn.

Bryant, who profoundly studied the subject, says that the

* Faber, *Pagan Idolatry*, i, 451.

† See an article in No. XLIV of *The National Quarterly Review* (March, 1871) on "Ceylon and its Mysteries," as to the extent to which it was carried in that island.

‡ Kaempfer *Japan*, p. 124.

name of the sacred serpent was, in the ancient language of Canaan, variously pronounced *Aub, Ab; Oub, Ob; Oph, Op; Eph, Eo,* all referrible to the original אוב *(Aub)* or אב *(Ab)*, which, being derived from אב *(Ab)*, to swell out, was probably applied to the serpent from its peculiar habit of inflating itself when irritated.* Thus the word Ob signified both "serpent" and "inflation." The first mention of this serpent-god occurs in Leviticus, xx, 27, where Moses says, "A man also, or woman, that hath *Aub* or *Ab* shall surely be put to death." The English version renders this word "a familiar spirit." The Septuagint translates it "ventriloquist," but it should be rendered "a serpent-god." Deane contends that the passage should be translated, "A man also, or woman among you, who is an Ob (*i. e.*, a priest or priestess of the serpent), shall be surely put to death." And similarly in Deut., xviii, 11, the expression "a consulter with familiar spirits" may be rendered "a consulter of the priests of Ob."† The woman of Endor, to whom Saul applied, is called in the Hebrews "one that hath Ob,"‡ which is synonymous with "a priestess of Ob."

The word Ob was frequently compounded with "On," a name of the sun, because the serpent was symbolical of the sun. Sanchoniathon says that Thabion was the first hierophant of Phœnicia.§ The name Thabion is compounded of the words "Th," an abbreviation of Theuth, Thoth (whence the Greek Θεος), the Phœnician name for the Supreme Being, and "Abion;" and it means "the god Abion," or "the serpent solar god." The primitive serpent-worshippers of Canaan, against whom Moses cautioned the children of Israel, were the Hivites. This word, according to Bochart,¶ is derived from *Hhivia*, a serpent, the root of which is *Eph*, or *Ev*, one of the variations of the original *Aub*. "Ephites" or "Evites," being aspirated, would become Hevites or Hivites, whence the Greeks got their word "Ophites," by which they designated the wor-

° *Antient Mythology*, i, 58. † p. 83. ‡ בעלת־אוב (Baaleth Aub).
§ Deane, p. 84. ¶ *Geog. Sacra.* Deane, p. 85.

shippers of the serpent. The Greek word *Ophis* (Ὄφις), a serpent, is derived from *Oph*, the Egyptian name of that reptile, which is the same as *Eph*. In the second century of the Christian era a sect sprung up in Syria claiming affinity with the Christians, but in reality they were serpent-worshippers, and were called Ophites. They reverenced the serpent more than they did Christ, because it instructed men in the knowledge of good and evil, and because Moses, aware of its power and majesty, set up a brazen one, and whoever looked at it was healed;* also because the Gospel alludes to this sacred power where it says, "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up;"† that is, as the people were healed by the serpent, they shall be healed *in like manner* by the Son of man.

This episode of Moses in the wilderness requires more attentive examination than is ordinarily bestowed upon it by those who care only for the literal sense of Scripture. The Israelites were about to invade Edom, after having abode a long time in the wilderness, and lapsed several times into the idolatrous habits which they had acquired in Egypt. Among these was the worship of animals and of serpents. The tribes of the wilderness were also idolaters, and serpent-worship prevailed all over Canaan. The Israelites hesitated to attack Edom, and murmured against God and Moses; wherefore fiery serpents were sent among them, which bit and killed many persons. The people then confessed their sin, and prayed for deliverance; so Moses caused a brazen image of a serpent to be made and set up on a pole, and commanded those who had been bitten to look on it. Those who did so lived. There is an allegorical interpretation of this narrative, which may commend itself to thoughtful minds. It is, that the Israelites had relapsed into their ancient serpent-

* "Accesserunt his hæretici etiam qui ophitæ nuncupantur: nam serpentem magnificant in tantum ut illum etiam Christo præferant. Ipse enim, inquiunt, scientiæ nobis boni et mali originem dedit." Epiphanius *De præscript. Hæret.*, c. xlvii.

† John, iii, 14.

worship, and had thus become morally dead and unfit to continue in the congregation; but Moses convinced them of the absurdity of worshipping a reptile, and, by way of impressing this on their minds, he set up the brazen image of one on a pole, and thus cured them of their senseless practice. "It came to pass that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived."* That is, when a man had been seized with a desire to worship a serpent, he was reminded of his folly by looking on the brazen one, and "lived," *i. e.*, he became alive to the duty of worshipping Jehovah.

It is probable that the Israelites and the Canaanites proffered blind worship to the serpent at the early period of their emigration from Egypt. It was not until a much later age—centuries afterwards—that we find the symbolical meaning of it fully established. The Roman emperor Elagabalus was high-priest of Æsculapius, in the temple of that god, at Emesa. Serpents were deemed peculiarly sacred to Æsculapius, and in his temples live ones were kept for purposes of worship. Elagabalus imported into Rome small serpents of the Egyptian breed, which were called, in that country, *agathodæmons*, or good spirits, and these he worshipped. His name, when resolved into its elements, shows that he had been educated in the mysteries of ophiolatry. It is *El-og-ob-el*, which, in Hebrew, means "the god Og, the serpent-god." The name of Og, king of Bashan, will at once occur in connection with this, and it is singular that he is described as ruling over all the region of *Argob*† which means "the light of the serpent." The whole region was afterwards named by the Greeks *Trachonitis*, a mistake for *Drachonitis*; *i. e.*, the land of snakes. *Ob* was simply the serpent-god, while *Elagabalus* was the solar deity, symbolized by the serpent. This marks the difference between the era of the emperor and that of Moses. Mr. Deane, however, goes beyond the literal rendering of the nar-

* Numbers, xxxi, 9. † Deuteronomy, iii, 4

rative of Moses, and believes that the "fiery" serpents sent among the Israelites in the wilderness were seraphim, and had wings. He cites* the Rabbi Bechai, who, in his commentary on Genesis, iii, 14, observes: "This is the secret or mystery of the holy language that a serpent is called *saraph*, as an angel is called *saraph*, and hence the Scriptures call serpents *seraphim* (Numbers, xxi, 6–8), because they were the offspring of this old saraph"—that is, the serpent that tempted Eve. One of the rabbinic traditions respecting Adam is, that Eve was his second wife, whom he married after putting away his first wife, Lilith, who was partly serpent—a legend which, if it has any basis beyond that of a diseased imagination, would suit the views of those who think that Adam was not the first man, but only the first *representative* man, a pure Caucasian, who became ruler over a degraded, Turanian, serpent-worshipping people in Mesopotamia, and put away his native wife, who was an idolater, substituting in her place a Causasian woman, who, at first, assisted him in establishing the worship of the One God, but was afterwards led away into the serpent-worship which prevailed around her; and she finally induced him to practise it. Hence the fall!—a politico-religious one!

The lengths to which the human imagination has gone on this subject are truly astonishing. One would think that the authors of them had been bitten and driven mad by serpents. The sect called the Gnostics taught that the ruler of this world was of a dracontic form: † they flourished in the first and second centuries of the Christian era. The Ophites (before mentioned) sung hymns to the Father, through a live serpent, and kissed the reptile; breaking and eating the bread it had crawled over, and calling it the Eucharist.‡ Manes, a celebrated Persian heretic of the third century, taught that Christ was an incarnation of the great serpent, who

* *The Worship of the Serpent*, p. 58. † Bryant, *Anal.*, ii, p. 91.
‡ Epiphanius, lib. i.

glided over the cradle of the Virgin Mary, when she was asleep, at the age of a year and a half.* Serpents were also considered tutelary deities of particular places and persons, and were not only the common symbols of the Pythian worship, but also the domestic prophets of the temples. † So universal was ophiolatry in Asia that the symbol of that continent under the Romans was a female figure holding a serpent in her right hand, and in her left the rostrum of a ship.

It was not less extensively practised in Africa. Allusion has already been made to the Egyptians; and there is no need to dwell upon their well-known worship of life in every form. But we may recall the fact that the serpent figures largely in their mythology as a symbol. Their very ancient god of silence, Harpocrates, was represented with his left hand on a staff, round which is twisted a snake. The god Cneph, the architect of the universe, was sometimes represented as a serpent with an egg in his mouth. Thoth, the god of healing, was symbolized by a serpent standing upon his tail, and was represented leaning on a stick which was enfolded by a snake. A female deity, corresponding with the Greek goddess Hygeia, is enriched by a serpent, which drinks out of a chalice in her hand. The reptile was also symbolical of Isis; but the species of it peculiarly dedicated to her was the asp. Serapis had a human head and a serpent's tail; and, in short, there is scarcely an Egyptian deity which is not occasionally symbolized by the snake.‡ Figures of this horrible reptile were sculptured and painted on the Egyptian temples, obelisks, and tombs. It was the most expressive symbol among the Egyptians.

Serpent-worship has prevailed all over Africa from time immemorial; but it is not a little singular that there should be such similarity between the words used in connection with

* Faber, *Pag. Idol.*, ii, 433. † Deane, p. 100, citing Spanheim.
‡ *Ibid.*, chap. 2, and the authorities there cited.

it in countries so distant from each other as Canaan and Whydah, or Congo. In the latter kingdoms the black races have great faith in charms in which the teeth and bones of serpents are ingredients. These charms are called *Obeah*, and those who compound them are called professors of *Obi*. There is a tribe in Whydah called *Eboes* or *Oboes*, who are addicted to serpent-worship, and a neighboring tribe, the Koromantynes, make propitiatory offerings to the Evil Spirit, whom they call *Oboni;* they offer human sacrifices to him. We have here evidence that in very ancient times there must have been communication between the western coast of Africa and Egypt or Syria; for, certainly, these compounds of the word *Ob*, in relation to serpent-worship, cannot have been accidentatly formed. The serpent was considered by the natives of Whydah to be so sacred that no native, on pain of death, dared to injure or molest it, however troublesome or mischievous; and it was invoked under all the difficulties and emergencies of life. The English traveller, Bosman, who visited that country in 1697, says that the most celebrated shrine in the kingdom was called "the Serpent's House," to which the people frequently made pilgrimages, daily offered victims, and inquired as to success in business.* The negroes of Congo worshipped serpents, which they fed with their daintiest provisions.† But in modern times snake-worship has disappeared in those portions of Africa occupied by Christians or Mohammedans; the latter remorselessly suppressed it by the sword, in obedience to the commands of Mohammed.

Let us now turn to Europe, respecting which quarter of the globe there is considerable difference of opinion as to the extent to which serpent-worship formerly prevailed in it. We need hardly say that, as Christianity prevails all over it,

* "Delubrum regni celebratissimum domum serpentis nuncupant, ad quam peregrinationes frequenter instituunt, hostias quotidie deferunt, atque fortunatum inde in negotiis successum præstolantur." *Acta Erudita. Essay on Guinea*, p. 265.

† Purchas, *Pilgrims*, part 1, p. 768.

except among the Turks, who, however, hold serpent-worship in abhorrence, there are now no idolaters of any kind. It has been supposed by eminent scholars, like Bryant and Faber, that the name of Europe was derived from *Aur-ab*, which, as we have seen, is in Hebrew "the solar serpent;" it is the root also of the words Arab, Arabia, "the land of the serpent sun;"* and Eubœa, or *Aub-aia*, "the land of Ob." But this derivation is not generally accepted. The common opinion is, that the same is derived from the Greek words εὐρύς, "broad," and the root ὀπ, "to see;" though, why the coasts of Europe should seem of greater extent to the ancients than those of Africa and Asia has not been explained; and, as for its being named after the daughter of Agenor, the supposition may be dismissed as a fable.

But, whatever may be the true derivation of the name "Europe," it is an indisputable fact that serpents figure very largely in the early traditions and mythologies of its inhabitants. Take, for instance, the legend of Cadmus, who led a Phœnician colony into Greece, and there founded the Bœotian Thebes. When he followed the cow to the spot where she sank down, and whereon the citadel was subsequently built, he sent some persons to a neighboring well to fetch water; but they were killed by a "dragon" which guarded it. Then Cadmus slew the monster, and sewed its teeth in the ground, out of which came up armed men. At the close of his career, he and his wife, Harmonia, were changed into serpents, and removed by Zeus to Elysium. One of the survivors of the armed men was named after the Phœnician serpent-god, *Ophion*. The transformation of Cadmus into a serpent, and his removal to Elysium, seem to indicate that he was deified and worshipped under the symbol of a snake.

The legend of Cecrops has a similar meaning. His name is derived by Allwood† from *Κα-κυρ-οψ*, "the temple of the

* Faber, *Cabiri*, vol. i, p. 180.

† *Literary Antiquities of Greece*, p. 259.

Supreme Ops;" and he is represented as half man and half serpent. He led a colony from Egypt, took possession of Attica, and founded Athens. The first altar which he erected there was to Ops or Ob, the serpent deity. Draco (Δρακων, a dragon) is said to have been the first king of Athens, whence Deane concludes that Cecrops and Draco were the same person.* The fourth king of Athens, Erichthonius, was, when a child, concealed in a chest, which was intrusted to three persons, with strict orders not to open it; but they disobeyed the command, and, on opening the chest, they saw the child *in the form of a serpent*, or entwined by one, whereupon they were seized with madness, and they destroyed themselves. Erichthonius, after his death, was worshipped as a god. Minerva, the special protectress of Athens, was sometimes represented as a serpent and as attended by a serpent. In the Acropolis was kept a live serpent, and on the walls was sculptured a head of Medusa, whose hair was intertwined with snakes. This same head was in the breast-plate of the goddess, and was supposed to convert beholders into stone: at all events, Pausanias relates a story of a priestess being thus changed at the sight of the unfortunate Medusa's hair.†

In celebrating the mysteries of Bacchus, the Greek assistants crowned themselves with serpents, and carried them in their hands, brandishing them over their heads, and shouting ευια, to denote the female serpent. In the Bacchic orgies the virgins carried golden baskets, each containing small pyramids, honey-cakes, sesamum, wool, salt, and *a serpent*. The honey-cakes were marked with the sacred Omphalos, or navel, and were offered at the shrine of the serpent, which was kept in the Acropolis. The Omphalos was also represented by a figure of a coiled snake:‡ it was sacred to the serpent-god.§ Bryant derives the word "Omphalos" from the Phœnician Omphi-el, "the oracle of the sun;" and this etymology is corroborated by the fact of

* *Ibid.*, p. 177.
† Lib. ix.
‡ Pausanias, lib. x.
§ *Ibid.*, and lib. ii.

its (the navel's) being represented by a coiled serpent. In short, the symbolical worship of the serpent was so general in Greece that Justin Martyr accused the Greeks of making the serpent the great symbol and mystery in all that related to their gods.* Their kings and chieftains adopted it as their device; Agamemnon and Menelaus bore one of a triple-headed serpent on their breast-plates and baldricks; the Theban Hercules had on his shield the device of two dragons lifting up their heads. A serpent was carved on the tomb of Epaminondas; and at Thespiæ, a young man, chosen by lot, was offered annually to the serpent. The famous Pythonic oracle at Delphi has been already noticed. The oracle of Apollo at Delos had an image of a dragon erected to Apollo. In the cave at Trophonius, in Phocis, were two figures, a male and a female, holding sceptres encircled by serpents. Bryant conjectures that the name Trophonius is derived from *Tor-oph-on*—"the temple of the serpent of the sun." In this cave live serpents were kept, and offerings of cakes in baskets were made to them by those who entered it; but it was said that no one ever came out of it smiling: perhaps this was because of the stupor occasioned by the serpents.

The worship of the serpent prevailed, also, in the Peloponnesus. This portion of Greece was colonized by the Syrian Pelops, whose name was really *P'-El-Ops*—"the serpent-god;" and his descendants were serpent-worshippers, as were the Argives and Spartans. Antinöe, the foundress of Mantinœa, was guided to the spot by a snake, and the first colony in Laconia was established under the auspices of a sacred serpent brought from Argolis.† The Cretan Jupiter was attended by two serpents. Divination by snakes was resorted to by the Greeks, who borrowed it from the Syrians; a notable instance of it occurs in the Second Book of the Iliad, where Calchas, the soothsayer, officiates at the heca

* Παρὰ παντὶ των νομίζομενων παρ' ὑμιν Θεῶν Ὄφις συμβολον μέγα και αινιγμα ἀναγρεφεται, Apolog. lib. i.

† Pausanias, 208.

tomb offered up by the confederate chieftains on their departure for Troy. During the ceremony a serpent glides from the base of the altar into a tree, where it devours a sparrow and her eight young ones, and is then converted into stone; whence it was understood that the war would last nine years, with victory in the tenth year. In the holy island of Samothrace was celebrated the mysterious worship of the *Cabiri*—a word usually rendered "the mighty ones," but derived, according to Bryant, from the Semitic *Ca-ab-ir* —"the temple of the serpent of the sun:"* from the same root comes the *Ca-ab-a* of Mecca, and Abury, or *Ab-ir*, the name of the famous Druidical temple of the Sun in Wiltshire, England, which was built in the shape of a serpent. These facts will suffice to establish the prevalence of serpent-worship in Greece.

In Italy we find traces of it in the name Opici or Ophici, the principal Ophite colony of Campania, and so called from the snakes they worshipped: *Οφικοι απω των οφεων.*† They were also called *Pitanatæ*, or votaries of Pitan or Python, the serpent. They carried their worship into Sicily, Latium, and Etruria. We have already noticed the snakes' cave at Lanuvium and the annual ceremonies there, a full account of which is given by Propertius.‡ Also the formal institution of divine honors to the serpent brought from Epidaurus to Rome, B. C. 462. Many instances of ophiomancy, or divination by snakes, are recorded by Roman historians and poets.§ All scholars are familiar with the appearance of a serpent from the tomb when Æneas was sacrificing to the manes of his father Anchises,‖ and his doubt as to whether it was the *genius loci*, or an attendant on his deceased parent. The destruction of Laocoön by the snakes sent by Minerva is another instance.¶ And there is reason to believe that it

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* *Anal.*, i, 122. † Bryant, ii. 214.

‡ *Eleg.* viii, lib. iv.

§ Valerius Maximus, lib. i, c. 6.; Cicero *de Divinatione*, lib. i; Horace, lib. iii, ode 27; Terence, *Phormio*, act iv, sc. 4.

‖ Virgil, *Æneid*, lib. v, 35, et. seq. ¶ *Ibid.* l. ii, 200, et. seq.

was the practice to paint serpents on the walls of buildings to denote that the latter were holy.* But, on the whole, it cannot be said that the Italians were a serpent-worshipping race; certainly not under the Empire. Nor do we find traces of this superstition in those parts of Europe which were peopled by purely Teutonic races, although the latter were addicted to worshipping trees.

When the Scythians migrated from Turan, or upper Central Asia, into Europe, they carried with them their indigenous serpent-worship. Hence we find traces of it in Russia Poland, Lithuania, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark; among the Amazons there were priestesses of both forms of the superstition, the simple and primitive serpent-worship and the worship of the solar serpent. Obscure notices of these Ophites are to be met with in the classic historians, which tend to prove that the superstition prevailed extensively in eastern Europe, even down to so late a period as the middle ages. Olaus Magnus says that the Poles and Lithuanians worshipped fire, serpents, and trees down to the year 1386, when their prince, Jagellon, and his brethren were converted to Christianity, and the idolatrous practices were suppressed; but he adds that in his time (1555) some remains of them were still to be met with in remote parts of Norway and Wermeland.† And Mr. Fergusson, in his elaborate work, has produced evidence to show that both trees and serpents were worshipped by the peasantry of Esthonia and Finland within the limits of the present century.‡ According to the traditions of the Laplanders, snakes live in societies, each with a captain and subordinate officers; once a year each community meets in general assembly, and not only has each serpent a right to bring his own grievances forward, but the jurisdiction of the chief extends to men who have slain or offended any of his subjects.§

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* Perseus, *Sat.* i, 112.

† Lib. iii, ch. 1.

‡ See Appendix A.

§ Castren, *Travels in Lapland* in 1838–44, 76–77.

The Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, and Bohemians were in the habit of keeping serpents in their houses as household gods, and when any adversity happened it was considered to have been caused by negligently serving them. Jerome of Prague, it is said, upon rather doubtful authority, ordered these snakes to be killed and publicly burned. In Sweden, in the sixteenth century, serpents were kept in houses as gods, and fed with sheep's and cow's milk, and to hurt them was a deadly sin. The Danes exhibited a sacred dragon on their royal standard, and there exist proofs that they offered sacrifices, perhaps human victims, to serpents.* The celebrated Scandinavian tradition of the Yggdrasill ash and the great Midgard serpent Jörmungand† has been supposed to be derived from and be an amplification of the Scripture narrative of the fall of man. Mr. Fergusson, however, with more reason, thinks that it is borrowed from India; he recognizes therein the Nagas of Eastern fable, and the churning of the ocean and the renewal of all things by Vishnu through the instrumentality of the great serpent.‡

The traces of serpent-worship in western Europe are very faint. There is no positive evidence that it existed among the ancient Gauls, although it may be inferred from the fact that their Druids were accustomed to immolate human victims to the god Teutates, who is identical with the Phœnician Thoth, or Mercury; and also from certain pieces of sculpture found at Arles and in Poitou, wherein snakes play a prominent part.§ Mr. Fergusson observes that recent researches have brought to light circumstances which would lead to the belief that there existed in France an earlier pre-Celtic race, allied to the Esthonians and the Finns, who may have been serpent-worshippers, but seem to have been obliterated by the Celts in very early pre-christian times.‖

There is considerable difference of opinion as to whether

* Deane, p. 236.
† *Prose Edda*, 410 et. seq.
‡ *Ibid*., p. 25.
§ Deane, p. 258.
‖ p. 28.

snake-worship ever prevailed in England. Mr. Deane devotes twelve pages to proving that it did; while Mr. Fergusson is disposed to doubt the fact, mainly because there are only two very short paragraphs in any classical authors which mention Druids in connection with Britain, and not one that mentions serpent-worship; and no English author, prior to the thirteenth century, alludes to either the one or the other. He admits, however, that there may have been, and probably were, two races in England—an older and less civilized people—who, in the time of the Romans, had already been driven by the Celts into the fastnesses of the Welsh mountains, and who may have been serpent-worshippers, and have sacrified human victims, and that the uncritical Romans confounded the two. The evidence adduced by Mr. Deane is, however, derived from the Breton traditions of Hu Gadarn and Coridwen, and Welsh bards, and is superficial. Certain remains of megalithic monuments in Scotland unquestionably relate to ophiolatry, but it was confined to the parts of that country north of the Forth. As regards Ireland, the evidence is so slight that Mr. Deane can do little more than suggest that the legend of St. Patrick's having banished all the snakes from the island by his prayers may imply that, in evangelizing the country, the saint overthrew the superstitious practices of the serpent-worshippers.* Nevertheless, the Irish derived many of their customs and religious notions from the Phœnicians of Spain, and most probably that of worshipping the solar serpent; for wherever the Phœnicians and their kinsmen, the Carthaginians, settled, they carried this worship and the immolation of human sacrifices with them. Hence the ancient Spaniards were serpent-worshippers, their country having for a long time been under Phœnician and Carthaginian rule.

Mr. Squier, in his learned and valuable work, has accumulated such a mass of testimony as to the universal practice of serpent-worship among the primitive races of America,

* p. 254.

that it would be a waste of time to do more than allude to it. The only point of interest in connection with it is, whether this worship was indigenous or imported. Mr. Fergusson notices the fact that in America the snake that was worshipped was always the indigenous rattlesnake; and Bernal Diaz tells us that live rattlesnakes were kept in the great temple at Mexico as sacred and petted objects. They were kept in a cabin of diversified form, in which a quantity of feathers had been strewed, and there they laid their eggs and nursed their young. They were fed with the bodies of sacrificed human victims, and with dogs' meat: human sacrifices attended serpent-worship everywhere.* We cannot here enter into the question of the origin of that worship on this continent; the subject is discussed by Fergusson and Squier; the former being inclined to the importation theory, the latter to the indigenous; but those who believe that mankind are descended from one couple, placed on the banks of the Euphrates, will be compelled to adopt the doctrine that serpent-worship was introduced into America from abroad. At a remote period it prevailed from the Canadian lakes to Patagonia; and the races who practised it were also the constructors of the serpentine mounds in Ohio, Iowa, and Wisconsin.†

It will thus be seen that the universality of serpent-worship in primitive times has been established, though varying in its forms in different climates and countries. It was a curious belief among these progenitors of the modern races of mankind, that snakes attended on the spirits of their deceased ancestors; and this idea prevails among the Zulus of South Africa at the present day. They hold the snake in great respect, and do not willingly kill it, because their dead ancestors are supposed to reappear in the form of serpents.‡ The reflections engendered by the study of this phase of human nature are calculated to confirm theologians in their views of

* Fergusson, p. 38.

† Squier, see chap. v, and introductory observations.

‡ Colenso, *On the Pentateuch*, p. vi, p. 142.

the depth to which man has fallen, and also to encourage the Darwinians to deduce his origin from a reptile.

The origin of serpent-worship is to be sought for in the constitution of the human mind, and not in any invented system of religion or superstition. It has relation to the sexual system of nature, which is typified in the ancient mythologies under various emblems; the serpent representing the masculine element; but this was also worshipped in Egypt, Greece, Italy, and other idolatrous countries in later ages under the gross forms of the Phallus, Priapus, etc. So the sun was by the primitive races of mankind regarded as the emblem of a masculine deity, while the moon was worshipped as the feminine element. Cory contends that the mythology of the ancients recognizes two independent principles, male and female, as the primary elements of all things; and that these, in mystic union, constitute the great hermaphrodite Deity, the One God; the universe itself consisting of the two separate elements of its composition modified, though combined in one individual, of which all things are regarded but as parts.* The gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome are only embodiments of the powers of nature expressed in a variety of ways and by a multitude of fanciful names:† but they are all resolvable into the sun and moon, the male and the female elements. Thus Apollo, Osiris, Dionysos, Adonai, are representatives of the great luminary, while Luna, Diana, Ceres, Juno, and Proserpine are so of the lesser one. From this primitive duality, which constitutes the fundamental force of the universe, arises a double progression of cosmical powers, which, after having crossed each other by a mutual transition, at last proceed to blend in one supreme unity. This dualism is the fundamental theory of Swedenborg, who represents the Deity, or the Lord, as being a compound of love and wisdom, of goodness and truth, and the angels as perfected beings,

* *Ancient Fragments*, p. 34. See also Faber, *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, vol. ii, pp. 1, 60; vol. iii, p. 205.

† Bryant *On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India*. Works, vol. vi, p. 273.

hermaphrodites, composed of the male and female natures in intimate conjunction.*

Ocellus Lucanus divides all nature into generative causes, and passive or prolific principles. He supposes the theatre of the former to be the region above the lunar sphere; and that of the latter to be the sublunary world. The first of these regions is filled with imperishable and immutable essences; the second, with beings subject to perpetual vicissitudes. All the changes in the sublunary world are produced by the sun as it approaches or recedes from it. The sphere of the moon forms the boundary line between these two regions of the world. Hence, it would appear, was derived the fiction that the moon was the seat of passive production; this is why she was identified with Ceres, Juno, Terra, Vesta, Isis, Diana, Latona, the powers presiding over child-birth, and all the prolific operations of nature,† on all of whom the title of "Ops" (serpent) was conferred. In the theogonies of Egypt, Hindustan, and Mexico, as well as Greece, the serpent was a sacred emblem of nearly all the gods and goddesses, as we have seen. Many of the leading names of deities and objects are compounded of words relating to the worship of the reptile. In addition to those already mentioned, may be cited the name "Apollo," or more properly "Apollon," the Greek god of the sun: it is a compound of *Ab-el-on*, "serpent-god-sun;" Phœbus or Phoibos, is from *Phi-oub*, "the oracular serpent." He was sometimes called *Aph-el*, "snake-god," and *Helios*, "the sun." The upright conical stones used by the Greeks to denote objects of worship, and called by them *βαιτυλια*, derived that name from the Hebrew *Beth-el*, "the house of God." The Syrian obelisks, *'οβελισκοι*, were so called from *Ob-el*, "the snake-god," to whom they were dedicated, the Apollo of Syria. The name "pyramid" is taken from the Coptic *Pi-ra-mu-e*, "a ray of the sun:" the builder of the largest one was called "Cheops," or "*Cha-ops*," "the house of the serpent."‡

* *Heaven and Hell*, passim.
† *Opuscula Mythologica*, cap. 2.
‡ Bryant, *Anal.*, passim.

There is a singular parallelism in the traditions of both the Old and the New World in reference to the origin of evil. The Egyptian Osiris and Typhon, the Indian Kaliya and Surya, the Scandinavian Odin and Jörmungand, the Greek Python and Apollo, the Persian Ahriman and Oromanes, the Aztec Tetzcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli, are alike allegorical of the contest between the powers of good and those of evil, and the serpent is introduced into all their emblems. It is the same with all the mysteries and orgies of the ancient Egyptians, Hindoos, Syrians, Greeks, and Romans. The mysteries of Osiris, Isis, and Horus in Egypt; of Atys and Cybele in Phrygia; of Ceres and Proserpine at Eleusis; of Venus and Adonis in Phœnicia; of Bona Dea and Priapus at Rome, are all susceptible of one explanation. They set forth and illustrated, by solemn and impressive rites and mystical symbols, the grand phenomena of nature, especially those connected with the creation of things and the perpetuation of life; and it is remarkable that in all of them the serpent was more or less conspicuously introduced, and always as symbolical of the invigorating or active energy of nature. In the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, the grand secret communicated to the initiated was thus enigmatically expressed: "The bull begot the serpent and the serpent the bull."* The bull was a prominent emblem of generative force, the Bacchus Zagreus or Tauriformis. The goat was another prominent emblem, especially among the Egyptians, on account of his strongly-developed salacity. They considered it in the same light as the Greeks regarded Priapus. Hence its incorporation in the figures of Pan, the Great Whole, the active instrument of production. It is upon these principles that the extraordinary Samaritan reading of the first verse of Genesis may be explained.† Instead of "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," they

* "Taurus Draconem genuit et Taurum Draco."

† Duncan's *Religions of Profane Antiquity*, pp. 288, 289.

wrote, "In the beginning the goat Azima created the universe," equivalent to "In the beginning Jupiter, Ægiochus, or Pan, created the universe."*

The annual sloughing of its skin by the serpent was another reason for its being looked upon as emblematic of reproductive power. By this process, it was supposed to rejuvenate itself indefinitely. The doctrine of an unending succession of forms was not remotely connected with that of regeneration, or new birth, which was part of the phallic system, and which was recognized, in a form more or less distinct, in nearly all the primitive religions. In Hindustan this doctrine is still enforced in the most unequivocal manner, through the medium of rites of portentous solemnity and significance to the devotees of the Hindu religion. The Lingham, corresponding to the Phallus of the Egyptians, is always to be found in the interior and most sacred part of the temples of Siva. Sometimes it represents both the male and the female parts of generation, and sometimes only the former. A lamp is kept constantly burning before it; but, when sacrifices are made, seven lamps are lighted. Married women wear a small gold Lingham around the neck or arm, and pay worship to it, to obtain fecundity. Those who dedicate themselves to the service of the Lingham swear to observe inviolable chastity, and are regarded as sanctified persons. At the festival of Osiris, in Egypt, the Phallus was carried by the women, as it now is by those of Hindustan.†

The Brahmins hold that Brahma was half male, half female; that he divided himself into two parts, and thus produced the female Vira'j, and from her all creatures. In the Orphic theogony, Phanes or Ericapœus, who corresponds to the Hindu Brahma, is represented as having around him the heads of a ram, a bull, a lion, and a serpent, and as being both male and female. The Egyptian Phtha, and the Assyrian

* Squier, chap. vi, notes.

† Crawford's *Hindustan*, vol. i, pp. 208, 212.

Baal, were also androgynous. So in the Hindu system, the female energy, the sacred Yoni, is frequently blended with the Lingham in one idol, and grossly indecent ceremonies attend the worship of it.* Nearly every inquirer into the primitive superstitions of mankind has observed a close relationship, if not an absolute identity, between what are usually distinguished as solar, phallic, and serpent worship; they are, in fact, forms of a single worship. "If," says Mr. O'Brien, the Irish antiquary, "they be all three identical, as seems certain, where is the occasion for surprise at our meeting the sun, phallus, and serpent, the constituent symbols of each, occurring in combination, embossed upon the same table, and grouped under the same architrave?"† The obelisks of Syria, the pyramids of Egypt, the conical shafts of India, and the round towers of Ireland, are all symbolical of this triple worship of a dual principle. "The sun was the great god of the heathen world, and the moon was considered his wife; so that the sun and moon of Egyptian worship were the Creator, in the mystical character of husband and wife, under which he was expressed by many names and symbols. The sun and moon, the male and female serpent, Osiris and Isis, are in turn employed to denote the Intelligent Being, the maker of all things, in conjugal unity."‡ The same is the case with the Siva and the Bhavani, the Lingham and Yoni, of the Hindus, and the Tetzcatlipoca and Cihuacohuatl of Mexico. They also appear under terrestrial aspects, as human beings, and actuated by human passions, and we find most primitive nations tracing their origin to a first pair.

Nor did the human imagination content itself with terrestrial representations of the serpent. The star-gazers of Asia, Egypt, and Greece, beheld it in the heavens. The Milky Way was to them a celestial serpent, and they formed the constellations of Draco, Ophiuchus, and Orion (*Aur-ai-on*) in

* *Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 224.

† *Ibid*, p. 224.

‡ Deane, p. 293.

honor of the solar snake. The sum of all these speculations was the personification of the reproductive and the destroying powers of nature under various forms. But throughout all the primitive religions there runs the first principle of the incarnation of deity, as a great instructor of mankind. He appears as Buddha in India, Fo-hi in China, Zoroaster in Persia, Osiris in Egypt, Thoth or Taut in Syria, Belus in Chaldæa, Hermes in Greece, Odin in Scandinavia, Saturn in Italy, Quetzalcohuatl in Mexico, Itzamal and Kukulcan in Yucatan, Theotbilahe in Nicaragua, Bochica in Colombia, Manco Capac in Peru, Votan in Guatemala, Payzume in Paraguay, Amalivaca among the Tamanacs, Wasi among the Cherokees, Manabohzo among the Algonquins, Hiawatha among the Dakotas, Hu Gadarn among the Bretons, and so on.

In all of these systems the serpent is symbolical of the active power of nature, sometimes beneficent, sometimes malevolent, an Agathodæmon and a Cacodæmon. The main difference between them is not in their fundamental principles, but in their attendant rites and ceremonies, and these partake of the respective characteristics of the nations which practise them, tempered also by the climate. Serpent-worship was, we think, the second stage of the religious development of mankind. The first was Fetish worship, such as is practised in Dahomey to-day, the lowest and most degrading form of religion which it is possible to conceive. The step from that to Sabœism was a great one, however much we may wonder at and loathe the elevation of a horrible reptile into an emblem of the sun and of the great Creator. The next step, from Sabœism and serpent-worship, into multifarious idolatry, was a retrograde one, under which mankind sank into the grossest immorality and depravity, to be redeemed from it by Christianity, at the root of which again figures the serpent.

ART. II.—1. *Histoire de la Philosophie au Dix-huitième Siècle.* Par VICTOR COUSIN. Paris. 1860.

2. *Social Statics; or, The Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and the First of them Developed.* By HERBERT SPENCER. London. 1865.

3. *Histoire des Systèmes de Philosophie.* Par M. DEGERANDO. Paris.

4. *Geschichte der neuern Philosophie* (*History of the New Philosophy*). Von M. BUHLE. Leipsic.

5. *L'Organisation du Travail selon la Coutume des Ateliers et la Loi du Décalogue, etc.* Par M. F. DE PLAY. Tours. 1870.—The same work translated into English, by GOUVERNEUR EMERSON, M. D. Philadelphia. 1872.

SUCCESS, failure. For man, what more significant, what more comprehensive words than these? Words, too, which, as to a possible class of sentient creatures superior to man, we may suppose to be, and which, as to the external world, organic and inorganic, that surrounds man, we know to be, quite insignificant—that is, without meaning or interest of any sort. Of all the multiform and manifold antitheses which offer themselves for our study and amazement, is not this the chief? nay, to declare the whole question, is not this the sum? Having included within this field all that belongs to it, what remains? Vast area of debatable ground enclosed between these antipodal extremes, lies there any territory beyond them, already subdued and put under cultivation by man—any possible *terra incognita* even, which he thinks of subduing at some future time? Quite evidently not. As of all past endeavor, whether of yesterday, and so standing out clearly revealed to our eyes in bold, sharp-angled relief; or of a remoter age, and so its outline somewhat dim and shadowy, the sole question is, did it succeed—did it fail? So, of all possible future undertakings, the single inquiry is, shall it succeed—shall it fail?

And it is both curious and painful to observe how, undeterred by our lamentable failure to find logical and so unanimous explanation of these opposite results, even when the undertaking is of the past, its inner mechanism, and its workings and strugglings towards completion thus laid open to our inspection, and the task, as would seem, thus made easy for us, we in no wise abate our efforts, or restrain our hopes, that hereafter we shall be more wise and more fortunate; and so, with the certainty that belongs to law, predict success or failure of this inchoate enterprise, whose workings and whose inner mechanism are still all unrevealed. In other words, we amuse ourselves with the hope that we shall, in good time, arrive at the point of predicting certain results of the future, when it is but too evident that to-day we cannot even explain, or at least do not agree in explaining, a similar class of results which are of the past. In matters where, thus far, we have displayed our incompetency as teachers, we now seek to be prophets—to be revealers, where hitherto we have failed to be illustrators.

And that men do not abate their efforts or chasten their hopes in this regard—that in imagination, at least, they behold placed in their hands the one sole, legitimate key for this Bramah lock of many wards, to be presently substituted with happiest results for the surreptitious keys which have long hung suspended from the girdle of pretentious locksmiths and lock-pickers, is evident enough. For, why otherwise give audience at all to the innumerable tribe of vaticinators, or rather soothsayers—for, be it observed, this latter word includes as possible in its signification, not only a sayer of truth, but a sayer of pleasing things also, as, indeed, it ought, when we consider by whom it has been appropriated—why give audience to these who so lonely and so confidently predict a "better time coming"? If there be better things in store for us, if the better time coming, so long heralded as close at hand, prove not in the coming years the same illusive *ignis fatuus* it has proved in the years that are

past, such change must happen to us by reason of redeeming somewhat, somewhere, from the domain of accident and conjecture, and referring the same to some fixed but hitherto unobserved, or, at least, unapplied law.

If not upon such new discovery, or upon the more full recognition of some such law, where, we may ask, does rest the foundation of these hopeful predictions? If to "Count Cagliostros" and "Madame Le Normands"—if to magicians, and necromancers, and astrologers, and clairvoyants, with all their paraphernalia of divining-rods, and crucibles, and sulphurous fumes, and whatnot other devices —if to these and such as these we are to look for guidance—if we are still shut up to such altogether inarticulate, ambiguous oracles to learn whether success or failure waits upon the newly launched enterprise, how may we at all hope for other results than those which have happened to us aforetime? No. When we make that certain which has hitherto been uncertain, we secure a new instrument of progress, and, not irrationally, may count upon making, with greater or less, with more rapid or slower strides, an advance. So far as what has hitherto rested in conjecture, even if it be the conjecture of the wisest man, or of all wisest men united, comes instead thereof to rest in demonstration, so far a step is gained. Then, we need have no fear lest the light that is in us be darkness. Then, we need not be disturbed, fearing that we have kindled our beacon on some floating Delos island, which, instead of guiding the truthful navigator into port, shall betray him to destruction.

Now, the question which salutes us at the very threshold is this: Is there any general, fixed law whatever appertaining to this matter of success—failure, which, in virtue of its being more formally and distinctly announced, and so more fully recognized and acted upon than has been hitherto done, promises to contribute, in a slight degree even, towards making that certain, which to-day, of all things whatever, seems most uncertain? There is a law of gravitation, a law

of combustion, each making certain what would otherwise be all uncertain, knowing which, men escape much they would, if ignorant of this law, be exposed to. Is there in any similar sense a law of success, to be termed, shall we say, the "Law of Equivalents," which, once reduced into formal possession, we may better give heed to, and so be less exposed to disappointment and other untoward consequences, which, as of one sort and another they result from the neglect of all laws, so must attend upon the infraction of this law? Does this foundling, hitherto, as would seem, not deemed worthy of a name at all, deserve the name we have given him? Admit that we may raise him up out of the ditch into which he has fallen, and bestow upon him such decent apparel as shall prove to be at hand, to thus make him, after a fashion; presentable. Is it quite certain we are not arrogating for him a name beyond his deserts? Is he of such lofty lineage, such honorable extraction, that he can be said to belong at all to the family into which we now propose to introduce him?

Pertinent questions these, for, consider a moment how much is included under this word "law." What is law, but uniformity? and for man, whose many weaknesses, and tender infirmities, and proneness to stumble, would seem to require soft and cottony swaddling-clothes, whose pliant folds should have thought for, and accommodate themselves to, this infantile unsteadiness of his—we say, for man, what more terrible word than this—this hard, angular, inexorable uniformity? There is no dangling, no caressing, no soothing lullaby here; but, instead thereof, rude, rough handling, as of some hirsute, untonsured giant, with grasp like a vice—a letting-fall, nay, rather a dashing-down to the frozen earth of this limp babyhood, with nonchalance almost devilish—this, or something like this, is what we are made to look upon, when we consider and ask ourselves what is the full significance of this word law—uniformity; and we ask again what more terrible word for man than this? And since law, however it may differ in that it has to do now with matters

of less, now of higher value, always agrees in this—that it is uniform, inexorable, and so in this sense all law is of equal dignity and significance; it beseems us well to take good heed lest we carelessly appropriate the word even, and so, calling that law which is only accident, invest a mere pretender with the royal purple that belongs to the king only.

Is there, then, anything in this matter of equivalents which can justly claim to be called a law? As remarked already, there is a law of gravitation, in no wise to be relaxed or suspended in behalf of the unwary traveller who sets his foot too near the crumbling edge of the precipice. There is a law of combustion, and though whole cities may suffer from it, and the wealth men have been gathering up through long years of toil and self-denial melt away from them in a single night, by reason of a spark falling a hand's breadth to the right rather than to the left; there is no help for it—the law must be satisfied. It may be a great army has been marshalled and equipped, under some lately-Corsican adventurer—now become French emperor—and the earth trembles beneath their feet, as the moving squadrons take their way towards yon Russian capital. Soon follows Borodino's battle—the Russian capital is given to the flames. Beyond that circle of fire lies, in half-concealed ambush, another foe—the piercing cold of a northern winter—and the ominous word "retreat" is sounded all along through those now broken ranks. Retreat! Back again, through deserts where there are no houses, and no food grows; where is wide, interminable sweep of half-frozen marsh and stainless snow; stainless now, but to-morrow to be crimsoned with the blood of that fugitive host, whose course is marked by the bodies of dead and dying soldiers. Back again? Yes, even to the banks of some opposing Beresina river, whose thronged bridge, hammered upon by close-pursuing Russian artillery, shall then and there fall in pieces, and in the coming spring twelve thousand corpses shall tell how many French fighting men, in one single instant, found watery

graves there. Back again? Yes, and out of all that mighty host, preyed upon by disease, and famine, and cold, and fatigue, and the bayonets of the pursuing foe, twenty thousand are at last gathered under the walls of Paris. Such is law!

See that widowed mother there. Except for that single son of hers, that only child, her daily prayer would be to go hence, and join the father of that child, now, as she believes, in heaven. But the son remains, a support and a solace to the mother—the mother a support and solace to the son. When the labors of the day are over, the mother already watching there with listening ear for the familiar footfall, he hurries away from the place of business, the path he follows showing, just a step in advance, a decrepit, shivering, starving, friendless beggar. The report of a rifle, carelessly handled and discharged, is heard; the beggar passes on unharmed; the listening ear hears not one impatient footstep, but many, as of a crowd, that hesitates; and she knows it all. Law—law even in accident.

But assuming, as we for a moment must, that there is no misappropriation of the word here—be it so. What of it? Why not allow the foundling thus lying, naked and nameless, under the hedge to remain there? Why call for christening-robes, and, by giving the outcast a name, make his worthlessness perhaps all the more apparent? To which questions we now proceed to furnish such answer as may be; premising only this one quite self-evident remark—that lofty endeavor is often attended by miserable failure; that lavish expenditure is daily and hourly followed by most pitiful results; the fit solution of which apparent incongruousness, we flatter ourselves, we have found, when, taking up with that which comes accredited to us by long usage, we exclaim: Fortune is a blind goddess, a capricious, perverse dame, who bestows her favors altogether at random. And we pronounce this man lucky, and that man unlucky; and that is all there is to be said about it.

Let us, then, now inquire, the way having thus been pre-

pared for it, what is meant by this "law of equivalents." A man chances upon a horse having certain fine points, offered for sale in the market, and would like to become the owner of him. He feels well assured that one or two, or five hundred, or, it may be, that five thousand dollars will not answer the purpose; but he is equally well assured that, somewhere along in the line of hundreds or thousands, there is a point he can reach, so that his purse be long enough, when the coveted object may become his own. Another man goes into the market to buy a barrel of flour. He understands perfectly well that the only question which can arise is, whether, supposing, indeed, that his money be not counterfeit, he has enough of it. It is a question of quantity, and nothing else. And so always, all along through the narrow, intricate by-ways where trade and commerce engage men's attention—in all the infinitely diversified pursuits and transactions, where the sole object of the transfer is money, from the wholesale millionnaire, who buys by the cargo, down to the poor needle-woman, who sends to the retail shop on the corner for a half ounce of tea, it is still and always a question of amount, and nothing else. And inasmuch as ninety-nine parts in a hundred of all that occupies the thoughts and furnishes motive to the vast majority, is this very kind of exchange we have described, money to be paid by one party and received by the other, the quantity thereof being the sole question; and inasmuch as almost every man in the community is reminded of this fact by every money transaction he enters into, and so has it dwelling by his side every day and every hour of his life, would it not be the most natural error in the world for him to fall into, that the same rule applies elsewhere, quite outside of money transactions? Might we not suspect, even were there no recorded facts to demonstrate it, that in other calculations, and other enterprises, quite foreign to those of trade and commerce, he would be found still placing his reliance on, and making sole account of, quantity, amount, magnitude, in matters with which, if the truth were to be spoken, all these have nothing and less than nothing to do?

We have thus selected money and given to it a prominence here, since, having been long accepted by common consent as the measure of value, it seemed the fittest illustration for the purpose in hand. But it is as an illustration only that we have introduced it, and not at all as an exhaustive statement of the subject-matter. For the commodities or objects to which the measure is to be applied—how are these in turn to be themselves estimated? Chiefly again by bulk, by magnitude, by quantity—all these, or some of them, to be ascertained and set down with counting-house exactness on the appointed page, so many pounds troy or avoirdupois—so many cubic feet, so many bushels. And this is not accident, and so forming an exception to a rule. It is not accident, and so a matter against which relief is to be sought or prayed for. Within its legitimate sphere it is itself legitimate. It is the law of man's condition, who, himself the subject of material wants, has been constituted lord and proprietor of a material universe. In the fashioning and subduing of this universe, he not only makes provision for these his natural wants, which haunt him at every step, clamoring loudly to be satisfied, but here he wins almost his only triumphs. Here he is allowed to witness a growth commensurate with the amount of skill and labor expended, and in this growth and these triumphs, he imagines, at least, that he discovers approbation for the path his industry has selected—chiefly, material; secondarily, spiritual.

Again, outside and beyond the mammon temple, around whose walls forever ascends the roar of trade and commerce, a still additional contribution, though of a quite opposite description, is found in the same direction in our emotions. Illimitable stretch of far-sweeping forests; stupendous cataracts; immense lakes; snow-capped mountains; immeasurable, ever-booming ocean; those mysterious orbs of light that pursue their way through the unfathomable vault above us—all these awaken within us emotions of sublimity. They fill us with delight; they claim our homage; they penetrate our

souls with a religious awe. However the mere arithmetic of life, which has to do with the inferior parts of man's nature, may have hanging around it a taint of the sordid, and the gross, and the sensual, no conscience-questions arise in this school to annoy the willing disciple. In yielding to these emotions, instead of any fear lest he may be approaching dangerous ground, he feels that he is responding to a voice that addresses his better nature, inviting him to a purer atmosphere, to loftier heights, to brighter fields. And thus, once more, magnitude becomes for us at the same time a synonym and a symbol of value. The great is the good; the vast is the sacred; the infinite is the holy. And surely it were passing strange if habits of thought become so inveterate by long indulgence, and by constant exercise; if rules of measurement, so incorporated and interfused into our very life by a strict necessity of our nature, by the very law of its being, and then still further accredited by these higher and holier instincts—passing strange would it be, if principles thus introduced to our hands should never overleap their appropriate boundaries, and be found claiming an application in other fields to which they are all unsuited.

Reduced, then, to set formula, the law means, first, this: that for a large class of objects which the world has long set its heart upon,—indeed, for most that are not subjects of trade,—nature affixes as the price, not magnitude, not amount, not quantity, not even value, as men estimate value, but kind—specific reward being attached to specific effort, and specific experience to specific payment.

Secondly. As payment must be made in kind, the law is inexorable, and recognizes nothing like barter or substitution—knows nothing of exchangeable values.

Thirdly. Insisting as it does upon kind, the law takes into its own hands the decision as to what that kind shall be, and determines beyond appeal its value; and, although it frequently demands variety of payment, it accepts no surplus endowments or offerings in one direction, to atone for lack in another.

We thus state the proposition in set phrase, and with what may possibly be deemed stately and ostentatious parade. We bestow upon it the dignity, the importance, and the full significance of a fundamental, primal law, arrogating for it all that this word law ever includes; its neglect or violation to bring upon us no less loss, no less positive detriment, than does the neglect or violation of any law whatever. We believe it will be found to deserve the rank we thus claim for it. But it is, at the same time, capable of being stated in a more simple, or, at least, less pretentious form, when its meaning becomes this: that humble, and, what to our careless apprehension seem altogether contemptible and insignificant agencies, are often the real, the true, the pregnant sources of our advancement; that nature, irrespective of any dogmatic estimates of ours, and quite heedless of our preconceived notions, awards a value, and attaches a consequence, to these so-called "little things," which she will have acknowledged, and which we must ourselves, in the end, recognize and convert to our service, before we can attain to the full stature of which we are capable; that whether success shall attend our efforts, often turns upon exceedingly minute and apparently worthless points, but points, for all that, none the less rigorously insisted upon. A man may spend his whole life in the effort, but he shall never reduce the lump of gold to a perfect sphere by the strokes of a hammer. He may imagine he has done so, after great expenditure of labor to that end, but the microscope shall detect his error, and so, in the world of matter, an instance be afforded to illustrate the "law of equivalents." In a word, its intention is to direct man's attention away from what is pretentious, and frequently nothing more than that; from what is vast, and frequently as vague as it is vast, and admired of us because it is vague; from what gives uncertain promise of magnificent results, to that which gives sure and covenanted reward—covenanted to us by all the undeviating uniformity and inviolable sacredness of law itself.

As illustrative of the foregoing remarks, perhaps nothing

would better reward our search than certain facts lying upon the surface which meet us at every turn. A law of life or of healthy growth has been violated. The statesman has overwrought that active brain of his; the sensualist has fallen into helplessness, perhaps idiocy, by his free indulgences; the laborer, perhaps head of a family, to contribute more generously to the comfort of those who are dependent upon him, has taxed his physical energies beyond the point of healthfulness. To be restored, what is the one, sole equivalent each of these must bring in his hands? Repentance, not in any theologic sense, but a return—a retracing of their steps along the same path by which they were severally led to the catastrophe; for the laborer and the statesman, rest; for the sensualist, abstinence. So of a state or people who have lapsed into imbecility; but one Ariadnean thread conducts out from the labyrinth. In all these cases we understand perfectly well that the price of restoration is a question of kind, and not of amount. And still more heartily do we testify to the same truth when we rebuke the inconsiderate, unseasonable zeal which would repay days and weeks of starvation with instant abundance.

The analogical, and so, if not demonstrative, at least corroborative illustration which physical science furnishes in the material world, is still more abundant. And of this description, perhaps, there is none more curious than that which is afforded by the laws of light. An experiment said to have been performed by Sir William Herschell is in point. On preparing a solar spectrum, and so decomposing and dividing the different colored rays, each from the other, and then exposing a thermometer to each of them in turn, he confidently expected to find the most marked result in the yellow space, which was the brightest; and great was his surprise on finding, not only that this was not true, but that the greatest effect of all was produced at the furthest remove from the yellow, and, indeed, quite beyond the red—which occupied the extreme space—even to where the light ceased to be visible at

all. And in another similar experiment, where, not heat, but chemical action, was looked for, a similar disappointment was the result. So, too, a like surprise has probably happened to some of us, on learning for the first time that glass, which so freely transmits heat from the sun's rays, intercepts the artificial heat which comes from our own fire-sides. But, in the case just mentioned of the spectrum, instead of the greatest heat being found at its centre, where the light was the strongest, it was there precisely that the effect was smallest, both as to heat and chemical forces—a fact which possibly certain modern experimenters in the field of moral science would do well to make a note of.

See this cloyed, limp, voluptuary. How vain are his longings to taste once more the pleasures which a few years ago made life so pleasant to him! In what a painful, perplexed state of hovering does he not find himself, unable to fix a choice anywhere; in some half-lucid interval almost wishing himself that hod-carrier yonder, so that he only had his full complement of life—his rounded muscle and fierce appetite!

This other child, nursed in the lap of ease, quite unsuspecting as to the great wrong that has been practised upon him—could he, by some miraculous interposition in his behalf, be made to understand by how much he is the sufferer in that he can never know the sweets of triumph over difficulties—what might not he afford to give, so that he were allowed to put forth his hand and pluck some of this pleasant fruit? But the child that cries for the moon shall have his desire as soon as this one.

For it is to be observed, that in all these cases where this price in kind, and not quantity, is exacted, payment must be made by the party who is to be benefited, and not by his friends for him—a strict condition which seems all the greater hardship, because it is very often the man's friends only who see clearly wherein he lacks, and wherein he is overladen; while he himself is mole-blind as to the weakness—that is to say, his blindness is not only complete, but natural or congenital. "We

wanted to get at him and give him a good shaking."—Have we not, most of us, heard such remark in relation to some third party, who, balancing on the very edge of success, seemed to need but the slightest possible jostle or hint to tip him quite over into the very lap of fruition? "If this friend of ours only had the least bit more heartiness, or even outside animation."—"Were this one just a trifle more pliable."—"If this other will insist upon being so singularly honest, could he not be so in a less blunt and offensive way, with a little more gracefulness?" These remarks, and others like them, we are made to listen to constantly; those who make them not considering that the arrangement is an entire one, and that all tinkering is excluded, at least by strangers. "What a pity it seems that these two may not be fused and mixed together!" —a simple enough way to make surplus here pay for deficiency there, and full of promise, too; if so be, by any chemical process lately arrived at and patented, this mingling, and so averaging, of two, as at present constituted, unprofitable characters could be thus safely and expeditiously compassed. This life, chemistry, were it but once reduced into our possession, as is that other, which busies itself with the inorganic —with earths, and salts, and acids, and alkalies—what a glorious dispensation would then dawn upon the world! what transmutations might we then behold, bestowing upon us no longer great accumulation of residuary slag, but, instead thereof, streams of molten gold twice refined!

Did our space permit, it would seem neither an uninteresting nor altogether unprofitable employment to hunt out, and more or less carefully analyze some of these equivalents we are speaking of. Has it ever occurred to the reader, nay, is there any one to whom it has not occurred, to consider death in this connection—we mean the death of a friend? Who that never lost a friend, especially a very near and dear one, can by any external or substituted apparatus, how ingeniously soever contrived, be put in possession of certain emotions, and thoughts, too, which then flow to us all naturally and spon-

taneously, when we reach that experience—emotions and thoughts as new and as strange, we had almost said, as valuable as is the gift of sight when first communicated to a blind man? Into what a new world are we not led by this eloquent interpreter—this sharp-eyed, anatomizing revelator—a world otherwise quite beyond our search, or conception even! The traveller in strange latitudes, who is thus made to behold new constellations over his head, gets this privilege, not by telescopes of greater power, but by a change in his position and relations. And so it is with the child of affliction, who, in the very vault of the tomb, all dark and undiademed as it would else be, is made to see stars, and even suns, he had never seen before, nor so much as dreamed of. Among the rest, how idealized has the absent one now become to our imagination, his or her infirmities all forgotten as though they had never been, while the shining qualities are brought out into full relief, and, without help of spiritual or theologic guide, the object of our affection seems enrobed in garments of a lustre and a purity quite dazzling to look upon! And what new "departures" do we not then take—we travellers across this life-ocean—what new estimates, perhaps more correct, too, do we not then form of this mysterious life of ours, now become both more and less mysterious! And while much that once made the greater part of it, seems now shrunk and almost vanished away, how do other points that pertain to it loom up into a quite unwonted significance! An equivalent this, it is true, is altogether grievous in the payment thereof —more so than any; but we must know that all payments in this kind are for the most part irksome, not for a moment to be brought into comparison with the mere handing over of a certain sum in money, or with the transfer of other chattels and hereditaments, to be on the instant receipted for, and so the debt discharged against us and our heirs forever.

But to return. How inexorable is this law of equivalents in refusing to recognize exchangeable values, we have most notable evidence, when it is considered that even wisdom itself,

in whose favor we might have supposed an exception would be admissible in this regard, can by no means claim an exemption from its demands. Who more helpless than the scholar is often found to be, outside of his cell? Who oftener falls a prey to quick-scented sharper than the philosopher come down from that upper chamber of his? In our estimate of the author of "The Deserted Village," how much of it goes to admiration of his genius, and how much to pity, if not contempt, for his lack of rugged sense; while even the great lexicographer himself, in whose presence Goldsmith stood overawed, more symmetrically developed as he was, had not always the current coin to save him from certain weaknesses, as we all know; his broad wealth of wisdom standing him in no better stead, to protect him against these, than did Baron Rothschild's millions serve to protect him, when the inevitable sixpence answered not to his call for omnibus hire. Omnibus charioteer, to be sure, upon learning the quality of his "fare," thus reduced to extremity, avowed his willingness to become his surety for a matter of, we know not how many, francs; upon which is suggested the pleasing reflection, that upon inquiry, therefore, many a laced and scented popinjay would have been forthcoming in the lanes of London to put in pledge his small change, if so be by such offering our ill-provided Samuel Johnson, relieved of his fears of ghosts and hobgoblins, could thus go more freely on his way again. The "inevitable sixpence," we may well suppose, did not very soon fail again to the Baron's call on the streets in Paris; but the "small change" of our popinjay friend—that, we fear, was never at hand; that it never could be reduced into use and possession by him who needed it, we absolutely know.

Under the operation of this law, another principle comes into notice. As we have seen already, the law insists upon, not quantity, but kind. But, even as to kind, it is not always satisfied with a single, homogeneous payment in gross, as of so much gold, but will have a variety of payment, some of which, it often happens, are opposed one to the other, making it diffi-

cult for one man to hold them all in possession at the same time. It is under this application of the law that our deepest sympathies are frequently appealed to, when our friend or neighbor, having brought the ninety-nine parts of the price, loses the reward because he fails to bring the hundredth; and perhaps we are never made to feel the rigor and severity of the law more than we do in cases of this kind. For it is to be observed that this hundredth part which is withheld is out of all proportion to that which has been paid, not only as to amount, but to our eyes it often seems also quite insignificant, if not absolutely worthless, in kind. Intelligence, sound judgment, strict application to business, prompt integrity, self-denial,—shall these all fail because that seemingly baser coin we denominate impudence was wanting, or because our friend lacked a certain carefulness, or niggardliness of temper, and so did not hoard his gains? The ship thoroughly built with knee-timbers of good royal oak, iron bolts and braces not wanting, all her equipments faultless —shall she founder for that single worm-hole which was overlooked? Shall that single plank, by some oversight not properly fastened, infect and spoil all that prodigality of expenditure? Instances of the kind here alluded to have fallen under the eye of every one, and here, as elsewhere, we lament, and sometimes wonder, that in this individual case the law could not have been suspended, and so our friend have been allowed to get into port with that well-considered enterprise of his.

And the case is still further aggravated, when we are made to see how a surplus of price in one kind will, by no means, excuse payment of all the several kinds. If in trade a man have not gold enough to make this or that purchase, he may possibly eke out the price with some other commodity, and so have his desire. But since this law we are considering knows nothing about barter, recognizes no exchangeable values, surplus in a particular kind goes for nothing. Else how happens it, that Robert Burns, and Samuel Taylor Cole-

ridge, and a host of others like them, made in greater or less degree a failure of it? Brain, intellectual force, emotional vigor, too, these men had to a superfluity, so that, if under this law any barter were possible, they might have stood aside for nobody whatever in this world's market.

And, as already intimated, that part of the price which is withheld is often, in our deeming, of very inferior worth, but, for all that, is no less rigidly exacted. In those points where man's nature is most nearly allied to divine—in the loftier gifts of pure intellect, as in the case of Burns and Coleridge just cited, the price is at hand to overflowing, and the failure is to be charged to the absence of certain more sordid and comparatively brutish elements of altogether too despicable a nature to be at all looked after. Upon such nice points as these, however, often turn the scales, and nature pronounces that an absolute condition, which we spurn as beneath our notice.

The subject thus hastily, only suggestively, introduced, admits of wide and varied application. Its special significance is seen in its relation to theories and systems of reform which have for their object the amelioration of man's condition. It invites an examination of these systems and these theories in the light of the law of equivalents. Seeing upon how minute, and, to our eyes, insignificant points rests the decision of the question as to success—failure, even in the humblest enterprises, where we might suppose the law would not be always enforced in its full rigor, should there not be hence conveyed to us very emphatic warning, lest we overlook and ignore the law in matters of vastly higher moment? May it not possibly be true, nay, is there not very much to give color to the suggestion, that as elsewhere, so here, no barter is admissible? And so, although vast machinery has been got together, and contributions of various kinds have flowed in without stint, until the enterprise has gathered to itself a certain magnificence in the matter of outfit and general appointments, with resources in plenty and to spare, may it not

still be true, that it lacks the one essential element of success, which, with all its wealth of a different sort, it can in no wise buy, and which it can by no means procure in exchange for some of its superfluous wares? Nay, more; seeing that nature pronounces that, in certain cases, indispensable which we hold in light esteem, yea, treat with absolute contempt, and that she refuses to recognize a part payment, however, as to its intrinsic worth incomparably more valuable than that which remains unpaid—is there nothing in all this to put us upon the inquiry as to whether, in great projected reforms, we may not have mistaken altogether the real price, and so have all the time been making offer of something which had no power of temptation whatever?

To illustrate. The unequal distribution of wealth—mere material substance—is in a variety of ways constantly brought under our notice; the poverty, and hence wretchedness, of this man being in strong contrast with the abundance and comfortable life of another. And since to superficial observation and partial analysis of the subject, the only real necessity in the case seems to be to cure this inequality—to take surplus here and apply it to deficiency there, for men construct railroads, and do a great many other things on this very simple principle—the great, almost sole, effort comes to be, to make people give more, that is, more money; so that, material being furnished wherewith to fill up or bridge over these unseemly chasms, the problem is solved; this mere giving we identically pitch upon as the one sole equivalent. If men were less covetous, less selfish, the battle would be as good as won.

But what, in the meantime, becomes of the capacity for receiving? Suppose the selfishness of men were overcome, and their charities greatly multiplied, their personal attention to the proper distribution and application of such charities remaining as it is to-day, and the difficulty of appropriating them on a greatly increased scale without encouraging mendicancy and fraud, and other evils, being still unremoved,

what very surprising change for the better could be looked for? It is easy to persuade men to bestow liberally of their substance, for very many motives combine to produce that result. But the sacrifice of their personal ease or convenience, the diligence which is directed to the management of these charitable contributions—how are these to be attained? Of one thing we may be certain—mere money-giving is too cheap and too easy, and the thing itself too base in its nature, ever to be accepted among the higher order of equivalents; nor can it be doubted that the difficulty just alluded to in the way of bestowing extensive charities is intended to teach us the truth of this assertion.

> "Let her know her place;
> She is the second, not the first."

The above sentiment, which Tennyson has uttered with so much truth in relation to knowledge, may also find application here. Money-giving is the second, not the first. It is an equivalent for very little. Indeed, its highest claim to be reckoned among equivalents at all rests rather upon the reflex influence which it exerts upon the giver himself, or, rather, it should be said, upon the influence which it is capable of exerting—for the mere giving, without the emotion, is of no more benefit to the giver than is the paying of a debt, which, in a great many instances, it so closely resembles.

Now, is it not possible that a personal appropriation of these same charities, attended, as it may be, by personal inconvenience, to which, perhaps, we are in the habit of attaching very small value, shall be esteemed that genuine price to which sure reward shall be attached? whereas no return, or, at the best, a very small one, shall follow upon the more magnificent gift, in the mere bestowing of which we imagine we have nobly discharged our duty, if, indeed, we do not throw a sop to our pride, and think in our hearts, if we do not utter it with our lips, "What generous men are we!"

The illustration—for as such, and nothing more, is it here

introduced—has somewhat outrun our design. But we would still press the inquiry whether, seeing that in some departments it has been demonstrated to us that failure has resulted from the withholding of what we pronounce a very insignificant, nay, altogether contemptible, part of the price, but which nature declares to be an indispensable part, so that superfluity in some other kind shall in no wise excuse its absence—whether, we say, the same law may not be in force in certain other fields where we have hitherto, to a considerable extent, at least, ignored its operation? We think a retrospect of the past history of the race will be found to strengthen the hypothesis here presented. Whenever the world has taken to itself new hope of its own swift-coming regeneration, that hope will be found to have rested almost exclusively upon what may be termed the external "magnificence" of the newly arrived agency; not intending by this word, as here used, mere dazzle, but allowing it to include very much beyond that. The questions for the most part raised respecting this or that enterprise as to its claims upon our confidence—we mean, of course, an enterprise contemplating moral results—have differed very slightly from the questions which arise on the inaugurating of a purely material enterprise. What are its appointments—its available means—its assets? Who are its godfathers? Are they men of large substance, and of acknowledged respectability, both in weight and numbers? Bringing with it what credentials, as to its momentum, does this thing now seek introduction to our favor? In a word, is it sufficiently accredited, both as to the extent of the field where it is designed to operate, and as to the machinery it brings with it?

As to all which questions, especially that one of momentum, when has more unequivocally satisfactory answer been rendered than when Johannes Guttenberg, by the art of printing he invented, gave to the world the more rapid mode of diffusing thought? What a gift was there, of a magnificence quite dazzling, as we may suppose, to the recipients, by the verdict

of the aggregated wisdom of the world, could it have been assembled, to be exchanged for no gift whatever, if the restoration of a fallen race be the object of attainment! As to which wonderful bestowment, whether it has been doing, or is to-day doing, what was so confidently hoped for from it, answer seems not entirely clear on this day and year of our Lord—certainly not unanimous.

Perhaps the teachings of this law are nowhere more palpably disregarded, and never with more disastrous results, than when men attempt to elevate legislation into the highest place as a remedial, reformatory instrumentality, in those cases where it ought to be held only as subsidiary and contributory. Indeed, it may well be doubted, in view of the mischief which has resulted from an opposite course, whether civil legislation should ever contemplate any direct aid towards a moral enterprise on the ground of its morality. Police regulations derive not their sanctions from, nor do they owe their value to, the fact that they tend to promote virtue. That such encouragement to morality may flow out of such regulations as a collateral result, and that such result may be gratefully accepted, are all true enough. Nay, something more than this may be admitted, and we may conclude that if no detriment inure to what is the main object in hand, a law may be moulded with a view to such collateral result. If the chief office of government, which is to maintain its own integrity, and to protect its subjects from fraud and violence, be not thus hindered, it would seem only a captious objection, that, in the course of its administration, it encourages virtue in the individual. But that a community should ever be taught, or even suffered to believe, that for any part of the virtue which belongs to it, it is dependent upon a mere legislative act, would be to grievously mistake, or rather to ignore altogether, this law of equivalents. Such payment passes not current at the counter where it is offered. As the coin is itself spurious, so will the thing bargained for prove also spurious. Virtue, in any true sense of the word, is the

result of a battle ; not to be fought by proxy—not to be conducted by mercenary hirelings, but by the passive endurance, the patient conflict, the bold encounter of the man himself.

And this legislating a people into virtue is only a particular manifestation of a more general error ; an error we are always guilty of, when we seek to get that by manufacture which is really and only a thing of growth. Every thing which lives, which has the principle of life in it, gets its increase by growth, and by growth only. A man may imitate a tree or a fruit. He may manufacture something which externally shall bear a very close resemblance to these objects, even to the point of deceiving the careless beholder; and birds may peck at the simulated grapes on the canvas, as the skill of the celebrated artist has demonstrated. But all the men in the world cannot make a living tree, that shall put forth leaves and bear fruit ; and so no more can all the men in the world grow a ship. We may see that the essential conditions of growth are provided ; a friendly soil and climate, nutritious food, and protection against enemies. And so much the legislator may do towards promoting virtue in a community. He may by wholesome laws provide the conditions, the external, mechanical aids ; but the thing itself he can no more make than he can make a new heaven and a new sun to shine in it.

And so not only of virtue, but of all the moral ingredients which enter into the composition and frame-work of society, and give us, finally, civilization instead of barbarism ; it is still no less true that they come into our hands by a process of growth. Thus it happens that, among others, time comes to be an equivalent for much, nay, for most, that possesses real value, and the impatient reformer who overlooks this condition, and so withholds the price, fails of the reward. His gourd withers with the morning. And, perhaps, that old fable of Prometheus nowhere finds more fitting application than here. As the crime of which he was guilty well symbolizes their error, who, careless of the conditions, affect to

be this world's regenerators, and who thus by implication subject themselves to the charge of attempting to "steal fire from heaven" to get success to their undertakings; so the punishment allotted to him is fit emblem of the gnawing remorse and disappointment which, in the end, visit these aspiring obstetricians, as they are made finally to contemplate their miserable abortions.

If the gravest complaint against American civilization as it stands typified to-day were to find utterance, it might be resolved into words like these: it tends to one-sidedness in the state—materialism; to many-sidedness in the individuals who compose the state; a condition of things to be so strongly deprecated in both particulars that it is difficult to say which involves the greater injury; a condition of things, too, which, could it only be reversed, making the state many-sided and the citizen one-sided, happiest results might be looked for. Granting, what is doubtless true, that this is an infirmity which belongs intrinsically and always to civilization as such, and so is not peculiar to these times and to these shores, the result is in no wise affected by such consideration. The question still recurs with equal force, how far is the evil susceptible, we will not say of a cure—for that is a word about which hangs a very suspicious odor—but of alleviation? And if we were now attacking a one-sidedness in the state the opposite of that which characterizes the times upon which we have fallen, we should probably find hearers in plenty.

ART. III.—1. *The Life of Henry Clay.* Edited by CALVIN COLTON, LL.D. 6 vols. New York. 1863.

2. *Life and Speeches of the Hon. Henry Clay.* Compiled and edited by DANIEL MALLORY. 2 vols. New York. 1860.

3. *Life and Public Services of Henry Clay.* By EPES SARGENT, Esq. New York. 1848.

GREAT statesmen are more constantly before us than any other public characters. They are powerful for good or for evil; and often destroy or build up nations. Thus the happiness and misery of mankind are inseparably interwoven with the conduct of statesmen. Statesmen lead in practical affairs, and their principles and actions are studied and known. So their influence becomes paramount, elevating or degrading the entire nation, especially if their vices or their virtues are set off by dazzling personal qualities and genius. How many nations can trace their fall to these demoralizing examples of splendid vice and corruption, and again have been lifted up and raised by some noble characters to sound morals and new prosperity? for it is an axiom of philosophy that no nation can be long prosperous and immoral. These conditions cannot co-exist for any considerable period in the history of nations, and hence the beneficial influence of such examples as Cato and Washington in elevating the moral tone of nations is everywhere felt. This influence makes men heroes just as great patriots are raised up and inspired by the examples of Sidney and Russell to fall, if need be, in their country's cause, in order to save the country and the state. These examples of heroism and disinterestedness are the precious stones and the brilliant jewels of nations, for they attract and draw after them the aspiring and generous spirits of all people, and keep them in the even course of advancement and a constant progress of morals and happiness. On the contrary, a Cæsar may sap the foundation of a country

quite as effectually as a century of degradation, and nations have to purgate themselves for generations to be rid of their example and influence. History is too full of this baneful example to be questioned. It is seen in France, in England, in Rome, and it exists here amid the vice and corruption of low and hireling politics.

Thus, as we have said on a former occasion, it is well for a people to recall the inspiring names and the noble virtues of their great men, that their influence may diminish among men. How delightful it is that we can call up these names among all nations and in every country! Still, the inspiring names are not many, not because men have not virtues, but for the reason that these virtues must be set off by transcendent genius or great events in order to centre upon them the gaze of the nations. We have Brutus and Cicero, we have Demosthenes and Phocien, we have Chatham and Burke, we have Mirabeau and Vergniaud, and we have our own Clay and Webster to add to these great and beneficent geniuses of the past; and what would these nations be except for such great men to instruct and adorn? How poor, indeed, would old Rome be without Cicero, and how could England exist shorn of the mighty genius of Chatham, Pitt, Fox, and Burke. And what would America be without a half dozen of her great men! Indeed, we can safely say that Henry Clay in all the elements of greatness, as a patriot, statesman, and orator, can take just rank with the first of any age. Henry Clay is the American Chatham, and had his speeches perished we should call him our greatest natural orator. At times he became grand, and often produced as astonishing an effect as Chatham, and yet we do not know of any passages of his eloquence that could be safely cited alongside of some of Chatham's. Still his presence and his delivery were so transcendent in the times of his transports of eloquence, that grave and dignified senators have, as it were, unconsciously risen to their feet, so completely were they carried away by

this inspiring and impetuous orator. They did not longer reason, they lost their senses, and in their amazement they gazed upon Henry Clay. In these sudden bursts he was indeed like Chatham, but in his usual delivery he was as statesmanlike and composed as the younger Pitt.

With this great power of eloquence Mr. Clay united all the moral qualities that gave ascendancy to Chatham—courage, genius, intrepidity, patriotism, and disinterestedness. Clay had all the fire of his English prototype, except his blazing eye, that sometimes awed and intimidated his great rivals; but he had all his splendid action and a fine form and voice to set off his genius. The silver-tongued Clay is indeed no more, and his genius as an orator does not survive him in his speeches, but only lives in his fame. His style is quite full and ample in character, but he seemed to rush along without much regarding his form of speech, being carried away with the subject and the occasion upon which he spoke. He surpassed in his action and manner of delivery every orator of his age, and had he possessed equal genius and elevation he could be ranked as our greatest orator. But Clay was as inferior to Webster in matter and strength of argument as he was superior to him in delivery. This is seen by comparing their speeches, in which Webster is elevated and rich beside Clay. Indeed, great as Webster is, we are told that Clay carried with him the senate and the people, because he believed in the inspiration of Henry Clay. Mr. Clay had great common sense, tact, and the genius of a leader, and he led American statesmanship for thirty years more than any of his great rivals. It was character—it was courage—it was genius—it was intrepidity—it was judgment that gave him this decided leadership in public life.

Besides this, Mr. Clay was the greatest if not the wisest legislator of the age upon the great questions that came before the American congress; for it must be considered that there are few legislative bodies in the world where a statesman is called upon to consider almost entirely political ques-

tions. The general government has power over foreign affairs, the revenue, and may regulate commerce between the states, and it has a limited power over certain internal affairs. Hence the legislation of congress is restricted to general questions which are mainly political in character. Thus American statesmen have not as wide a range of subjects as those of other countries. In England, Mackintosh, Romilly, and Brougham made great reputations in reforms of the laws. These subjects are with us nearly all left to the states, and over them congress has no control whatever. So the lawyer that enters congress finds the study of his profession only a partial aid in public life. The states pass upon questions of property and private rights. There is no common law jurisdiction in the United States; it is merely statutory, and relates to subjects coming under the delegated powers alone. So in speaking of the legislation of congress we must consider Mr. Clay in connection with political subjects alone. Had congress power over the laws that regulate property and individual rights, we then should have to see how far Mr. Clay would have led in the reforms of the law. And here it may be said that the exclusion of the general government from these subjects is fast becoming a serious question, in view of the chaos that exists in consequence of thirty-seven state legislatures, and the corruption that now controls a majority of them on every subject of a public nature. Surely out of this confusion and corruption we may be forced to enlarge federal powers so that one national body shall be vested with the powers of general internal legislation relating to public questions, if not to general questions of person and property. By this means we unify the laws. So in considering Mr. Clay as a legislator, we find his name connected with public questions alone; and it is connected since 1810 with all the important questions up to his decease in 1852, commencing with the war of 1812, and ending with the great compromise of 1850. But we shall not present the many questions that he was called upon to consider, for that would be the history of over forty years, and must be found and studied in his life and works.

We shall rather gather up the outline of his great performances, and present it in a manner that it may be seen at one view with his real character as a statesman, and his position as an orator in the public affairs of America.

Mr. Clay certainly held the foremost position in American affairs in the war of 1812, upon the Missouri question in 1820, upon the compromise of the tariff in 1833, and upon all the succeeding questions until he retired from the senate in 1842. And then he was the nominee of the whigs in 1844 for the presidency, and again came back to public life and the senate in 1849, that he might again compose and conciliate the country in the great compromise of 1850, and then die as did John Quincy Adams and Calhoun,—in the service of his country. Running over this period of great events, Mr. Clay's last great compromise must be pronounced his crowning work, and it was performed in the senate after he had reached his seventy-third year, where sectionalism was then mustering its forces under the lead of Seward and Jefferson Davis. Mr. Clay, in his retiracy at Ashland, had heard these mutterings of the approaching storm long before it swept over the nation in wild fury, and like a true and great captain he rushed back to the helm that he might once more steady its bearings, and with other great men of the nation steady the old ark until it should pass by. Congress assembles, and weeks and months are passed in vain struggles to organize and proceed to business. So intense was the excitement that days were spent upon the election of a mere door-keeper. Finally, Mr. Clay, on the fifteenth of February, after two weeks' struggle, brought forward his plan of settlement, and asked to have it referred to a committee of thirteen. Early in July, President Taylor suddenly died, and amid intense excitement Mr. Fillmore was inaugurated to the presidency, and was in full sympathy with the policy that sought to conciliate the sections under the great lead of Mr. Clay.

Up to this time Mr. Webster gave this plan of adjustment the weight of his great influence in the senate, and had in one

speech set the North in a great commotion upon these questions of compromise. Having been selected and nominated by the president for the first place in the cabinet, he took his leave of the senate three months after the death of his great rival, Calhoun: but up to his own death he continued his herculean labors to give effect to the great compromises which were passed, after a nine months' constant struggle, before the usual, practical business of the session was attended to. After this retirement of Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay and Cass were still strengthened by the strong blows of Douglass, who could alone successfully encounter in debate any of these great sectional leaders that had already seduced Mr. Burton into their ranks, and clasped hands to defeat all compromise and settlement of the slave issues, by the conjoint and indivisible strength of slavery and freedom. Right here Mr. Clay stretched forth his hand, and with the strength of Webster they broke down the walls of brass, and sectionalism was finally overthrown, and peace and settlement were once more proclaimed throughout the land, amid the bonfires and rejoicings of the American people. But these great labors of Clay and Webster, rendered so constantly for so long a period, impaired their frames, and each was borne to his final resting-place at Lexington and Marshfield, in the year 1852. Such a triumph and such a death in the cause of a nation are followed by the benedictions of the good in all ages and in every land; and in this manner Clay and Webster were consigned to their mother earth.

Here we may pause, and conjure up the spirit of departed peace, and over the green graves of half a million fallen heroes contemplate their beneficent policy of adjustment, when compared with that which compelled America to draw the sword and quite perish amid the jar of warring states. It cannot be said of them they knew their duty and did it not: for when they fully awoke to their country's danger they laid aside all their former dreams of rivalry and ambition, and conjointly moved on together to bring before the country the

great measures of peace and adjustment of all the sectional issues then existing.

But there are terrible accusations that these compromises were infamous and inhuman, that they allowed the spread of human slavery, and caused the restoration of slaves to bondage! But these compromises settled the question of boundary and abolished the slave trade in the District of Columbia. This much good is undisputed; while the rendition of slaves and the waiving of the Wilmot proviso are the terrible accusations of that time. And why apply the Wilmot proviso! What good could it then do, when there was not a foot of territory but was fixed by an irrepealable law? Indeed, every inch of the territory about which was the main struggle was already free by Mexican emancipation, and if not by that law, still it was completely free upon the recognized principle that slavery was *local* and could not exist except by *positive* law. This compromise forbid all intervention or disturbance of this *status* until the territories should seek to be admitted as states, and so there was every probability, which amounted to a certainty, that, under this compromise of 1850, the territories would come in as free states, just like California, then seeking admission into the Union. A northern congress extended this principle of non-intervention over all the territories that might stay the rebellion and appease the South. But it was too late. The winds were up and the tempest of revolution was sweeping along. It was then too late to consider, and internal strife went on because the people had not seen clearly the dangers of this struggle. Again, the constitution made by thirteen slave states in 1788 demanded the rendition of escaped slaves; and this requisition had been provided for by the enactment of the first congress, and which had been recently made wholly ineffectual by northern state legislatures, so that for some years there had been no law to recover slaves under the constitution. The compromise of 1850 succeeded this; and all the world fell to denouncing the compromise of 1850 instead of correcting any more errors that this

fugitive slave law may have contained. Indeed, the errors were slight, and the infamy of the law was that it gave effect to a clause of the constitution which was repugnant to humanity and the tastes of men. So it was in Europe that these compromises became odious, as men would not give sufficient weight to the fact that such a law was necessary to carry out the constitution and to keep the faith of that compact. But California as a free state, and the abolition of the slave trade at the seat of the federal government, were parts of these great measures of peace; and so the men who made the compromise accomplished just what was absolutely essential to the peace of America.

It was also said that the slave struggle was not very alarming and no fears need be entertained for the Union! Ten years later and the folly of all this talk was seen by Messrs. Seward and Lincoln when they too had become "union savers," and found no hope except in the stern realities of war. History is philosophy teaching by examples, but these examples, when purchased at the price we have recently paid, ought to be written imperishably over the doors of the capitol in letters of iron, that timely concessions may prevent revolutions and save nations. But these dangers to the Union could not be discovered and realized by the great body of the people, and hence the best meaning never condemned the peace measures, and talked themselves and the country into a war at the end of the eight years after Clay and Webster had been laid in their graves. Men forgot or did not comprehend the nature of a political or moral revolution that had been brought upon the country by forty years of divergence and fanaticism. It finally became a struggle of power and interest in the nation, and the weak fibres that held the opposing sections together gradually gave way one after another, until 31,000,000 of men rose up in arms to cut each other's throats.

Thus Henry Clay of all men in his time first comprehended the magnitude of this danger, and by his self-imposing genius prepared and carried though to the successful settlement the

great compromise of 1850. This, in our judgment, is the greatest act of Mr. Clay, and it has hardly been equalled in the annals of statesmanship; for these compromises were purchased by the price of a long and terrible struggle, where eloquence and patriotism finally won the day. Chatham, Fox, and Burke sought in a former age to save the British empire and preserve the American colonies; but they were too weak to overcome the fatuity of the court, lead on by a resolute but short-sighted ministry, although they postponed that calamity about ten years. About this time a great statesman in France foresaw that if monarchy should stand long, it would be because certain reforms must be made to save its overthrow. Turgot's warnings were unheeded, and in an age after, the revolution of 1789 broke out, and ended only in 1815. Cicero, Cato, and Brutus saw the approaching fall of Rome, and they leaped into the chasm and perished with it. But these examples will ever remain as mournful instructions upon the weakness of states and the blindnesss of men to impending danger. However, we must repeat these melancholy examples of human waywardness, until mankind becomes sensible to the dangers inherent in all great states, and thus guard and conserve them. In this connection we must not forget that Seward and Chase in their young ambition disregarded the supreme welfare of the nation in 1850, and Seward was forced in after years to renounce that extreme policy which he had so long pursued and accept the spirit of conciliation amidst the frightful ruins of belligerent states.

But it is said that human slavery by pursuing a sectional policy was destroyed. Certainly there is some compensation growing out of every evil course among nations, and this riddance of slavery is our compensation. But what a frightful war accomplished this; and it is barely possible that we do not yet see all the evils of this conflict. So far will the nation pronounce that it was best that Yancy and Toombs should precipitate the South in revolution, and was it well that the North should have pursued such an extreme policy

that revolution became possible? We rather give our voice to nationality and peace exemplified in the sacrifices and spirit of Clay, who sought to allay all sectional strife and thereby save the country from this frightful war. Compromise was peace, and sectionalism was war. Clay embodied the one, and Jefferson Davis exemplified the other. Davis's course broke up the Union and destroyed slavery. But who will say that secession was wise and good. Again, Mr. Clay took the lead in the compromise of 1820, whereby human slavery was prohibited to the north of 36° 30′. That was the first and only original restriction upon slavery under the constitution; and though it was first suggested by Mr. Thomas, senator from Illinois, yet it never could have been carried through except by the statesmanship of Mr. Clay. So we say, in this one act of legislation Mr. Clay set back the spread of human slavery and converted an empire of slaves into free territory. This, in practical effect, is next to the ordinance of 1787, framed by Jefferson, and it gives Mr. Clay an equal fame, for Mr. Jefferson's ordinance was not established by himself or at the time he brought it forward for adoption. We know it has not been usual to regard this compromise of 1820 as a beneficent measure, but really it is the only time that the South lost any slave territory under the constitution. The number of free states which arose out of that compromise proves its beneficence to freedom; for slavery existed by law, under the Louisiana purchase, and it covered all the then territory belonging to us west of the Mississippi. Thus we say that we are largely indebted to Mr. Clay for this extension of free territory, and it was the only free territory that came from foreign acquisition, until the Mexican war brought a very large accession, which the South sought in part to convert into slave territory, and which contest ended in war. So Mr. Clay accomplished something for freedom at home as well as liberty abroad.

Mr. Clay effected another compromise and adjustment in 1833, when South Carolina set up the standard of nullification

of the tariff laws, and passed her ordinance of nullification, and assembled her gallant sons to defend by open arms the asserted rights of that wayward state. The president issued his proclamation to South Carolina, and finally congress passed the Force bill to enable Jackson to sustain the laws and to suppress this insurrection in South Carolina. The issue seemed made, and General Scott was in possession of Charleston; but at this critical juncture, so big with the fate of America, Mr. Clay, as the great founder of the American system of protection to labor, came forward with his measures of peace, by which that tariff did gradually go down till it reached 20 per cent. This measure was carried, and Jackson and South Carolina sheathed their swords. Thus it is that Henry Clay always appeared as the great pacificator of his time, and he never failed to carry these measures of peace, although opposed to the bitter end. Webster threw himself against this compromise of 1833, and though not in public life, he opposed the slave adjustment of 1820, in reference to the admission of Missouri. Finally, when he reached a greater experience, he saw more clearly the danger of extreme courses, and gave himself fully to the compromise of 1850, as Luther did to the Reformation. Mr. Clay had, in 1848, utterly refused to support General Taylor, because his whiggery was not very pronounced. And so it is significant that the two great leaders of the whigs were so frequently put aside for the presidency in consequence of the supposed military availibility of Harrison, Taylor, and Scott; and in this manner many of the ardent friends of Clay and Webster finally went to the democrats in 1852. The whigs had seen the success of General Jackson, and were seized with the idea that some general would give them success over the democrats in these great elections, and they did actually win two terms under Harrison and Taylor before the party broke up in 1854 and 1855, after the final repeal of Mr. Clay's compromise of 1820.

So it may be said that the Clay compromises are all ended,—that of 1833, by its own terms, lasted but twenty

years; that of 1820 was repealed at the end of twenty-four years; that of 1850 lasted till the events of the war in 1866 annihilated slavery by a constitutional amendment that secured freedom to every black throughout the land; and so these great works of Mr. Clay were completely obliterated in the due course of time, each lasting on an average but a generation. This part of Mr. Clay's statesmanship belongs to history, and we must look to other issues to discover what remains among the living present to recall Mr. Clay. Indeed, we may say that the war has wiped out mostly all the questions that had agitated the country for nearly two generations relating to the great slave issue; and so the past discussions of this absorbing question are cast into oblivion except when considered by the historian and the philosopher as explaining that great contest. Thus we must consider the statesmen of a former age in connection with tariffs and currency, or they do not live in the present time among the vital forces of the country. Besides it is quite true that every age has its questions peculiar to itself that absorb human thought, and few subjects of practical statesmanship last through the centuries. In 1812 Mr. Clay lead the war party, and made peace in 1815. Nothing remains of that contest except what is consigned to history, unless it be the lessons inculcated by the hour, when America dared to do battle against British intrusion, and reassert our rights as a nation.

Mr. Clay is to be remembered for his spirited lead and patriotic course in firing the nation with his own invincible courage. He was the speaker of the house; made envoy extraordinary to Great Britain, and he was the adviser of Madison, who proposed to make Mr. Clay the general-in-chief, and he alone prevented his being appointed to that great military office by President Madison. We thus see the hold Mr. Clay had upon the country and her greatest men. Refusing this military appointment, even General Harrison, who was in command of the forces in the north-west, solicited Mr. Clay to come thither, as his influence would be salutary and

inspiring; and in compliance with that request, and with the sanction of the administration, he visited the army of Ohio, and by example and by word kept up the spirit of the war to the end of the contest. In a short time our raw forces acquired discipline and maintained the honor of the country against British veterans who had been trained in the great contests with Napoleon. Perhaps we achieved no considerable advantage until the battle of New Albany, except at sea, where our flag was usually triumphant, though Choate has said that these naval victories were due in some measure to British seamen fighting under our flag. The war ended with sustaining our honor, but the treaty did not settle the question of impressment, and so that dispute was left to be reargued by Webster in 1842; and the British nation, not being able to sustain the right of search under the laws of nations, have now practically renounced the claim. The treaty was silent upon this question, because it was thought wise in us to end the war rather than engage a considerable portion of the British army that would soon be relieved from the contest with France. We had never engaged the mother country single-handed except in the beginning of the revolution, and it must be allowed that the war of 1812 was thus happily closed by the treaty of December 24th, 1814, made at Ghent. A young nation without any regular force could not at once successfully contend against a British force long disciplined in war, and so we had to relearn the art of war after the lapse of thirty years of peace.

Mr. Clay at that time stood the second man in the nation in the popular regard, and so we see that he had achieved a foremost position in this country at the age of thirty-five. He was made speaker of the house at the first session in which he appeared, and resigned as speaker to be made minister plenipotentiary in 1814, and when he was re-elected to the house he was chosen speaker continuously until he became secretary of state under Mr. Adams in 1825. During all this period of his speakership he always took the foremost

part in the discussions of the house when questions came up in the committee of the whole; and there is no other instance in our public life of such a leadership as his when occupying the position of speaker for nearly thirteen years. It shows the adroitness and facility of Mr. Clay in moulding men to his will, and shows that there is no other person comparable to him as a great and successful parliamentary leader, both in the house and the senate, where he exercised the wand of his enchantment for near thirty years of his public life.

At the termination of his services in the house, when he became secretary of state in the cabinet of Mr. Adams, he became an object of malignity to the Jackson men, who, with their leader, traduced him for the support he gave Mr. Adams in the election of 1824. The federal party having become extinct as an organization, the republicans, as founded by Jefferson, broke into factions and supported Adams, Crawford, Clay, and Jackson, the last of whom received the largest vote; and, the election not having been given to any one, the house of representatives chose from the three candidates who received the highest votes. So, the choice having to be thus made, Mr. Clay, being then speaker of the house, threw his influence for Mr. Adams, and he was elected President over Jackson and Crawford. Mr. Clay, accepting office under Mr. Adams, gave occasion to the accusation of bargain and corruption, which the friends of the latter sedulously propagated in after years to defame especially Mr. Clay. General Jackson, even, supported the charge, under circumstances that left it no longer doubtful that he was quite incapable of generosity to a rival and an opponent. Never was a statesman so unjustly denounced, under circumstances that appeared to sustain the charge to the popular mind. Mr. Clay made the mistake of accepting this office after his friends had elected Mr. Adams. But, Mr. Crawford being an invalid at the time, Mr. Clay thought that he must choose between Adams and Jackson, and thus he exercised his constitutional power to defeat General Jackson. Indeed, the friends of

Jackson knew that it was quite out of the question for Mr. Clay to support him for the presidency against such statesmen as Adams and Crawford; for Mr. Clay had expressed his opinion of Jackson, in 1819, with great severity against the conduct of Jackson in the Seminole war. Indeed, Clay never favored military men for the highest office in the government, and especially when they were not experienced in civil affairs. Besides, some friends of Jackson had made overtures to friends of Clay, to induce him to support General Jackson, and so this accusation came afterwards with a very bad grace from them. Moreover, it is now known that, some time previous to the election, Mr. Clay said, in confidence to Lafayette, that he could not support General Jackson.

This appears clear by a letter Lafayette wrote Mr. Clay after his return to France, that it might be seen that Clay had made no arrangement with Mr. Adams. Indeed, Mr. Clay, when offered the place of secretary of state, took it into serious consideration, and hesitated to accept it; but, upon full consideration, and at the urgency of his personal friends, he finally concluded to accept the appointment. Mr. Crawford afterwards wrote Mr. Clay that, had he been placed in the same position, he should have supported Mr. Adams; but he said, "I think you were wrong in taking office under him." Certainly there was no error in taking this office, except it laid Mr. Clay under the imputation that he might have had this understanding at the time of the election of Mr. Adams. But if there ever was an American, since Washington, incapable of such trafficking for place, that man was Henry Clay. His whole life and his character show that men could not approach him in such a manner. However, Jackson's family repeated the charge, and those who had been defeated in the election joined them in opposing the Adams administration, and in 1828 they succeeded in electing General Jackson as the first president of the democratic party against Mr. Adams, who was the candidate of the republicans for re-election. Thus the great party founded by Jefferson was displaced at

the end of twenty-eight years of successive rule, under himself, Madison, Monroe, and Adams. Henceforth, the democratic party had twelve years' rule under Jackson and Van Buren, and were again overthrown by the whigs, who were founded by Adams, Clay, and Webster, in 1834, in conjunction with Mr. Calhoun. This party came forth in 1834, by the junction of the anti-masons and the national republicans; but the military prestige of Jackson was too strong to be overcome.

Mr. Clay was the great founder and leader of the whig party, and gave to it his principles and great advocacy. He, as well as Calhoun, thought the revival of this revolutionary name of whig quite significant and proper to found the party that was then resisting the executive power of Jackson; and Mr. Clay, who had been upwards of twenty years one of the foremost leaders in the republican party, advocated all the great measures which it had sustained in 1816, and onward till 1828. The whigs thus supported his great American system, comprised in a national bank, a protective tariff, and internal improvements. The democracy were divided upon most of these questions, and finally followed Jackson against the national and state banks, and the founding of the independent treasury under Van Buren. The democracy became divided upon the protective policy, and then the South presented the issue of nullification, upon which the administration took issue. Mr. Clay came forward with his compromise tariff, which settled the question for the next twenty years, and saved a collision between South Carolina and the general government.

Thus Mr. Clay's fame is identified with internal improvements, a protective tariff, and a national bank, which measures he steadily supported from 1816 up to the close of his great career in 1852. If any statesman has produced any great advancement of the country by its internal development during this period, it certainly was Henry Clay. He came forward as a statesman at the beginning of the war of 1812, and experienced all the vicissitudes that attended us during that

struggle, and the subsequent events that led the administration of Madison to establish these great internal measures to develop and give strength to the nation. He said that the war convinced Mr. Madison of the need of these great measures, and especially of the need of a national bank to regulate and sustain the credit of the nation; and hence the establishment of the bank of 1816 was an administration measure, as well as the tariff of the same year, together with the measure carried for internal improvements, which, however, met the veto of the president just as his second term expired.

Mr. Clay became greatly impressed with the needs of the West as to internal improvements, and under his lead the Cumberland road was advanced and carried forward to the great advantage of the western states, as it must be remembered that then the country was without any railways or canals, while no steamboats had yet been seen upon our lakes or rivers. Indeed, it was after this that Fulton's invention navigated our inland seas, and our canals were opened to the western states—Ohio, Michigan, and Kentucky. Go back to the war of 1812, and survey the actual condition of America, and then cast the eye over it in 1826, when the Erie canal was in full operation and Fulton's steamboat was afloat, and we behold a change and an advance altogether astonishing. Mr. Clay's Cumberland road also gave a great impetus to the middle states and their progress toward the West. He did not distinguish between the salt and fresh water improvements under the constitution, and held that congress could construct military and postal roads between states. Hence the fine monument that stands on the Cumberland road will long remain to perpetuate his memory as a statesman, and it recalls no sorrowful memories of the distinction of race, but rather reminds men of the pacific genius of Henry Clay, to whom it was erected.

Mr. Clay struggled always to sustain a protective policy as a necessity to develop the internal resources of the United States. He had realized only too well the need of American

manufactures after 1814 and during the war, for we suffered all kinds of deprivations at this period, because we had not ceased to depend upon Great Britain for our manufactures, although we had been independent as a nation for a period of thirty years. We had gained independence, but we were, in 1812, in nearly all things, colonies still. Thus the statesmen of that age after the war felt the need of American manufactures, and hence the protective tariff of 1816 and the establishment of a national bank. Mr. Clay in 1811 had opposed the re-charter of the United States bank, but he said he became convinced by the war that it was necessary to the nation, and that it had produced the same conviction on the mind of Madison. This was about the sole change of Mr. Clay upon any measure during his public life.

He thus is identified with the policy of development of the resources of the country more than any statesman of his age, and what progress we have made in this line of internal development is in a large degree owing to Mr. Clay, and the impress he made upon the country.

After the vetoes of John Tyler of a bank and a tariff, Mr. Clay sought to amend the constitution and limit the veto of the president, and also contended for an amendment limiting the president to one term. It is quite certain that every second occupant of the White House has used his great office with a view to his party advantage and his own re-election; and an amendment securing one term for five or six years to the executive would be attended with no conceivable evils, while it is quite probable it would effect salutary reform. The president having been elected, he would be free to act quite independent in appointments as well as removals, for he could have no personal interest to advance except to have a fair fame for honest administration among men. This reform is needed, but it will never take place with the consent of the administration in power.

Mr. Clay was not faultless as a public man; and yet there is no statesman of his time who committed so few errors and

who accomplished so much good as he. He may have pushed his tariff policy too fast or too far, or the bank too strenuously in 1841. He might have utilized Tyler's administration and secured more good to the country by a partial success, just as he delayed the internal improvements under Monroe in consequence of his constitutional scruples; but Mr. Clay now regarded himself as the founder of the party, and he was determined to rule it to carry out whig measures. Thus he threw away a partial advantage which was not recovered again by the party till 1848. This paralysis of the whigs would not have occurred had Mr. Clay defended the idiosyncrasies of Tyler and endeavored to heal instead of widening the breach of the party. Certainly Webster in this crisis showed a cooler and better judgment as to what was for the true interests of the party, to say nothing more. Had the whigs not split, but stood together, they would have possessed the patronage of the government to help to carry the election in 1844, and they would thereby have delayed the scheme of annexation of Texas till after that election, on which Mr. Clay was defeated. Thus he committed a great error by his quarrel with Tyler. He knew Tyler's antecedents and that he was nominated and put on the ticket to give it strength in certain quarters without questioning his soundness. Certainly Mr. Clay's impetuous nature hurried him into a party blunder that was fatal to the ascendency of the whigs, and finally brought his own defeat in 1844.

Now, if we consider the character of Henry Clay as a statesman, it is generous, noble, and winning, but inflexible. He was a true lover of freedom, and held that slavery in this country was a political, social, and moral evil which every patriot should wish to see removed and extirpated. But, at the same time, while he sought to effect gradual emancipation in his own state, he felt bound to stand by the constitutional rights of the slave states, and sought to harmonize the antagonism between the free and slave states. Belonging to a slave state, he declared that no power on earth would induce

him to extend human slavery over free territory, and leave the people of each territory to settle that question when they should become states. These were the grounds on which Mr. Clay sought to harmonize the country in 1850, and which was carried after a long struggle. But Mr. Clay was not only a patriot at home, but a philanthropist abroad, and his course in reference to Greece and the South American republics sent his name to other lands, and his fine speeches upon these occasions endeared him alike to the patriots of the old and new world. His encouraging voice reached Bolivar in his native fastnesses and inspired him and his followers to renewed efforts for the freedom of their own land. Throughout his whole career Mr. Clay sympathized with constitutional government wheresoever the sun shone upon it. Thus he contended for regulated liberty in his own country, and if there was any check to his aspirations it came from the anomaly of our situation of a union of free and slave states under a general government possessing restricted and delegated powers only.

The speeches of Mr. Clay are founded on strong sense, and have a large scope and breadth of view. They rest on a solid basis, and we have been quite surprised, in our recent reading, to find them so thoroughly practical and business-like in character. We had heard a great deal of his eloquence, and were prepared to find grand passages of declamation, such as occur in Webster: on the contrary, he unites his argument and eloquence in the whole body of his speeches, and weaves and blends them together, except when he becomes roused and impassioned by the occasion, as in his personal appeal to Van Buren, then presiding in the senate, to go and tell the president to stop in his course or he would ruin his country, and this appeal was so grand and impressive that the imperturbable Van Buren moved in his seat, as did Cæsar when addressed by Cicero; or when Mr. Clay denounced Jackson with terrific energy, for the appointment of Amos Kendall as superintendent of the state bank. He ended this accusation by stretching forth his arms at full length, as he

rose upon tip-toe, and, with a frown of indignation and disgust, and with terrible energy, his voice rang out till the very arches of the senate felt the shock, as he exclaimed,

"An agent was sent out—*and then such an agent,* to sound the local institutions as to the terms on which they would receive the deposits."

This phrase, from his delivery, became at once as sublime as any of the great points made in the tragedies of Shakspeare, when acted by a Kean or a Kemble. Indeed, we felt not a little of this grandeur when we listened to a venerable statesman who heard this accusation, and while he narrated the scene, he insensibly rose from his feet and became for the moment an actor of a part he had witnessed nearly forty years before. This distinguished statesman was no other than the president of the senate during the great debates of 1850, and he said that this denunciation of Kendall surpassed anything he had ever seen, for effect, whether in the senate or upon the stage. He added: "It would be impossible to convey any just idea of Mr. Clay's manner and voice when speaking of Amos Kendall. He was denouncing General Jackson for having removed the public deposits from the United States bank, and transferring them to the state banks, and then appointing an agent to superintend them, and then exclaimed —'And such an agent!'" And this sentence was uttered with such an impassioned vehemence and expression of contempt and disgust in his countenance, that it sent a thrill through the senate. He said: "I never knew such an effect produced by the utterance of a single sentence." Its force was in manner, and voice, and *impressive gesture;* and, finally, these were the charms of Mr. Clay's eloquence. They never can be transferred to paper, and, with posterity, Webster will be regarded as his superior. Webster had more logic, more rhetorical figures and poetical expression than Clay, but they were not delivered with that clarion voice and vehement enthusiasm that Clay's were. Clay spoke to the surrounding audience—Webster spoke, through the senate, to the country and to posterity.

Such is the graphic description of this scene and of the characterization of these two greatest American orators by ex-President Fillmore, than whom there is not a more judicious and impartial critic. Indeed, he is almost the sole survivor of an age of statesmen upon whom we shall not look again. It was an age of orators. Clay and Webster were the Pitt and Fox of their generation. It was an age of finished orators like Preston, Corwin, Everett, Hayne, and Prentis. There were also debaters like Calhoun, Wright, and Douglas. There were advocates like Pinkney, West, and Choate, but not one of these equalled Clay in manner, or Webster in grandeur. There were Benton, Cass, Fillmore, and Adams among statesmen, and they all felt the power and yielded to the influence of these two majestic orators, the grandest that we have yet seen in the new world.

But how was it that Henry Clay achieved and held this supremacy in an age of great men, and so fully impress his genius upon the destinies of America, at a time when there were great publicists and fine scholars among the statesmen with whom he became so much renowned? How was it that he who was early left to struggle and find his way to the bar with an imperfect education, and without the ordinary academic course, could at one bound win such fame wheresoever he appeared among men, whether in the bar, in the state legislature, or in congress or the cabinet? It was because he had the energy to educate himself, and possessed all the elements of genius combined with solid and strong sense. He was reared in a good school at the Richmond bar, where he very easily gave his thoughts to the study of eloquence, as we see by what he said to the students of the law school at Balston, in New York, in 1849:

"I owe my success in life, I think, chiefly to one single fact, viz., that at the age of seventeen I commenced and continued for years the process of daily reading and speaking upon the contents of some historical or scientific book. The off-hand efforts were made sometimes in a cornfield, at others in the forest, and not unfrequently in

some distant barn, with the horse and ox for my auditors. It was to this early practice of the art of all arts that I am indebted for the primary and leading impulses that stimulated me forward, and has shaped and moulded my whole subsequent destiny. Improve, then, young gentlemen, the superior advantages you here enjoy. Let not a day pass without exercising your powers of speech. There is no power like that of oratory. Cæsar controlled by exciting their fears; Cicero by captivating their affections and swaying their passions; the influence of one perished with its author, that of the other continues to this day."

It is not surprising that Mr. Clay should place such stress upon mere oratory which gave him such supremacy among men; and he is to be pardoned for pronouncing it the art of all arts, as he saw that there is no power like that of oratory in the world. Indeed, the great orator can justly feel this pride, but absolutely it is a trivial accomplishment, unless it be a means to accomplish some great purpose for the good of mankind. It speaks in Demosthenes to rouse the Greeks to save Greece, or to vindicate his conduct when assailed by Eschines; it speaks again in Cicero to save the Roman republic from the machinations of the factions of Cataline and Cæsar; it bursts forth in Chatham and Burke to save the British empire from the loss of the American colonies; and it is finally heard in the indignant language of Fox and Sheridan when bringing a great culprit to justice for betraying his trusts over India. Again, it is heard in the fiery oratory of Henry and with all the force of Adams as they pronounce for independence; and it bursts out for reform in the impulsive torrent of Mirabeau and Vergniaud. Indeed, oratory is too grand to be effective when disconnected with some mighty cause; and when it determines the destinies of nations, it is more than an art;—it is the greatest power among men. It is, in the language of Mosder, something higher than mere eloquence; it is action, noble and sublime, god-like action. In this sense it was studied by the great orators of antiquity. And in this sense Mr. Clay could characterize it as the art of all arts, and that there is no power like that of oratory. Thus early he began these studies of eloquence that carried him to the foremost place

among American orators—for he held that place when living, though he yields it to Webster when dead—as the charm of the magician died with him. Like Chatham, he united the elements of the orator with the genius of the statesman. Like Chatham, he was grand in action and delivery, but he wanted his imagery and culture. Like Chatham, he swayed the destinies of his country, though he was not long trusted with power. He only wanted Chatham's poetic genius and culture to have equalled the first orators of any age. That was denied him, and so Mr. Clay's works will not in the future exert much force if they long survive him. But for fineness of manner and voice, Clay was the equal of Chatham, and far surpassed him as a ruler of men. Indeed, not Pitt, nor Peel, nor any of the great British statesmen who had gone before them ever surpassed, if they even equalled, Mr. Clay as parliamentary ruler and controller of a legislative body. This was owing to his fascinating and persuasive power over men. Here his superiority ended, for he was not a statesman of large and exact knowledge like Adams and Webster; at least he yielded to them in the extent and character of his information.

But it is not to be assumed that a statesman who had been trained for fifty years among the greatest men of his country should be wanting in the solid acquisitions of a statesman. He certainly achieved great and early success at the bar, and was selected by that astute lawyer and jurist, Aaron Burr, at the age of 23, to defend him in the courts of Kentucky, on the charge of treason. He achieved no inconsiderable fame in the supreme court of the nation upon causes of difficulty and magnitude, and he was the most effective jury lawyer in the great West; and so Mr. Clay stood very high at the bar, and was drawn from the profession by the more solid attractions of public life.

However, it must be allowed that Mr. Clay's ambition was too much given to the fascination of politics, and he was under the illusion that the presidency was within his grasp, and that it was necessary to round off his fame as a public man. For

twenty-five years the victory of New Orleans would not let him sleep. He ran for the presidency in 1824, in 1832, and in 1844; and he thought he ought to be a standing candidate until he was elected. He saw three generals in turn supplant him for that great office—Jackson, Harrison, and Taylor. Indeed, Mr. Clay did not seem as magnanimous as Webster. Mr. Clay never waived any claim for him, though he had frequently secured Mr. Webster's support. They, like Calhoun, believing themselves worthy the highest office, felt great disappointment. This constant hankering for the presidency showed they had no common or vulgar minds, though every statesman knows that that position is not to be sought by a philosopher, for its emoluments and glory. There are men in this age that have so far displayed more equanimity than they, in this one particular. Charles Sumner falls back on greater individual resources than almost any statesman of our country, and if he has caught this disease for the White House he has been thus far able to altogether conceal and hide it. In this ambition it was an early disease with Calhoun, but nullification cured him. It appeared to be in Webster, but went with him to his grave; Clay saw, in 1848, that it had failed with him, and gracefully forbore his own claims just before his demise.

If we turn from public affairs to the person of Mr. Clay, we find him as winning as a woman and as strong as the most masculine of men. He was in disposition genial, and generous to a fault. His person was slender, tall, and graceful, displaying an open and generous face, with a large and homely mouth, while his small, blue eyes always won their way among those who beheld him. And from that mouth issued sweet tones that run through the whole compass of speech, and his cadence and modulation gave an indescribable charm to his utterance. Add to this his fascinating and warm manner and his stern integrity, and we have the secret of the power of Henry Clay to rule men. Thus we place him the foremost speaker and legislator as well as the most winning

statesman of his time. He also stood in the first rank as a debater, and yielded only to Webster in the eloquence of the senate. Such a genius was Henry Clay, who surpassed Patrick Henry in statesmanship and in the art of oratory itself.

Beyond question South America owed more to Mr. Clay than to any foreign statesman for its independence, notwithstanding the boast of Canning (1828), that he had called a new world into existence to compensate for the loss of freedom in the old. Mr. Clay was the orator of nature like Henry; but he superadded to his natural powers a constant improvement in the art of eloquence from an early age, at the bar and in legislative bodies that he entered at 23, and thus he became trained like Pitt and Fox in actual debate until he rose as a speaker of the first rank. He had not the severe studies of orators, like Preston, Logan, Everett, and Choate; and he possessed not their extended acquirements or culture in literature; nor was he so finished in style as Everett, or in manner as Preston, and yet in the senate they all sank beneath him in debate and in the conduct of actual affairs, for it was genius struggling with talent. Even Choate, long after personal altercation with Mr. Clay, pronounced, with all his studies, for the actual training of affairs in such a body in order to reach great eloquence, and declared that Clay, by associating with the really brilliant men of the nation, had acquired a style equal to that of Pitt. We cannot say that, though it is more natural, easy, and idiomatic. His style is flowing, partaking of the quality so much studied by Fox—rapid oratorical movements. It had also force and earnestness, though his general style was perspicuous and diffuse. It had the proper oratorical periods set down in Cicero. It was lively, and at times sarcastic, galling in raillery, and when personal his invective was withering. He possessed more common sense, but he wanted the force of Chatham and the logic of Webster to have been irresistible in debate. However, he took a large survey, and had large

resources as a statesman that gave him the actual lead in affairs. His speeches upon the tariff in 1824, on the removal of the deposits in 1833, on the protest in 1834, the sub-treasury in 1838, and on slavery on February 19th, 1850, in bringing in his resolutions of corruption, are among his most celebrated speeches. But some of his occasional speeches on the hustings were nearly as good; yet with all these successes in delivery they do not read well—that is, they do not sustain his fame as a speaker. They partly sustain the adage of Fox, that a speech good in delivery does not read well. It is true that Burke confirmed this adage, as he failed in delivery, the only great orator of England whose speeches are much read in this age. But we may say that there are modern orators who have at times, like Webster in the Hayne debate, delivered speeches that read well and were equally good in delivery. Demosthenes and Cicero are unquestioned examples of the refutation of this adage, for who denies that their speeches are first to be read and yet were first in delivery since oratory began.

Mr. Clay's diplomatic papers and his published correspondence show the same easy, natural style, and while the former reflects credit upon his statesmanship, the latter confirms the impression we should get in reading his speeches, that not literature but politics mainly absorbed him. Calhoun's letters have not appeared, but so far as we know these illustrious men had no fascinating interest in literature like Choate, Fox, and Cicero in their decline. Webster had an enjoyment and great relish in his later years, but it was not that absorption of literature as we see avowed by these three great orators of ancient and modern times. Indeed, we think that no man can become a Cicero without this absorbing taste in letters which nearly all the first orators and poets have hitherto displayed. When such a taste shall unite to external qualities of a Clay we shall again see an orator like Chatham and Cicero. But how soon this fortunate juncture will occur is beyond our own ken to know. Suffice that such

orators are not century men, for it takes ten times that period to duplicate a Demosthenes or a Cicero. England has had a Burke, France a Mirabeau, and America a Webster; but modern times has not yet produced a Demosthenes or a Cicero in all the qualities that made them unrivalled as orators. Indeed, our civilization may and does give first-class debating, yet it only produces second-rate orators; and if modern times shall produce a first-class orator, it will be because his genius will override and master the age in which he was born. To have a Demosthenes you must have a modern Athens to hear and educate him; Athens will not reappear and so there will be no Demosthenes. We shall have, then, other Clays and other finished orators, who are content to live and rule their own age, and then disappear in the great waste of utter oblivion that awaits them.

ART. IV.—1. *Primitive Marriage.* By JOHN F. MCLENNAN. Edinburgh. 1865.

2. *Origin of Civilization, and the Primitive Condition of Mankind.* By Sir JOHN LUBBOCK. New York. 1870.

3. *Researches into the Early Condition of Mankind, and the Development of Civilization.* By EDWARD BURNET TYLOR. London. 1865.

4. *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains Comparées aux Mœurs des premiers Temps.* Par JOSEPH FRANÇOIS LAFITAU. Paris. 1734. 4 volumes.

MODERN civilization spreads like a broad cloak over all the suggestive facts of the past. It has its own habits, its own ideas, its own faiths, born of itself; and only here and there, in semi-barbarous districts, does the web of the primitive world show itself in remains of antique ceremonies, without meaning in their modern application. But, by lifting this cloak a little, and looking back into the world which

it covers, we are able to trace many of the steps of mankind in the upward progress from savagery towards civilization, and to behold the successive threads of which the strong tissue of society has been woven.

In important illustration of these facts of the past, we have numerous facts of the present in the customs of the many existing savage and barbarous tribes, each of them a living exemplar of the primitive races which lie unseen at the foundation of the world's history. In fact, these savage and these barbarous tribes which have remained for thousands of years without essential change, illustrate so vividly the customs of their remote ancestors, that we can almost ignore written history, and accept man as he now exists, in studying the primitive condition of the race, and the origin of social laws and customs.

It is our present object to trace back, by these means, the institution of marriage, to examine its ancient forms, and seek the origin of the many remarkable customs yet associated with it in every part of the world, so as to display its gradual development from its most archaic condition.

The earliest written history commences at an era of human existence in which man had already greatly progressed, and was highly civilized as compared with his aboriginal condition, and with that of many existing tribes. Even the knowledge we have gained of pre-historic races, through philological and other means, as of the early Aryans, shows them in a somewhat advanced condition, equalling, at least, that of the modern Asiatic nomads; and, to attain a knowledge of tribes in a really primitive condition, we must consider the savage inhabitants now existing in parts of America, Africa, and the Pacific islands.

From the stage of these lowest to that of the highest races, communities exist in every stage of advancement, so that the whole progress of human society is probably traceable in the habits of contemporaneous races. And the habits of their remote ancestors have so strongly influenced the

customs of more advanced tribes, that the unmeaning ceremonies of the latter exactly supplement the essential institutions of the former.

Written history is delusive, as concerns social habits, unless it be examined in the light of the unwritten annals of mankind. The earliest records are of the lives and deeds of the ruling and aristocratic classes of communities. When the lower classes have become of sufficient importance to appear in history, their primitive habits are already greatly modified, and but imperfectly point out their original significance. That which was reality has become pantomime. What Michelet calls the poetry of law is but the remains of these early usages, which, without any definite meaning at present, have remained attached to our institutions in many strange and grotesque forms.

One of the most significant of these forms is that known as the symbol of capture in marriage ceremonies. This symbol has only of late years been studied, yet is full of the highest interest. It occurs when, after the marriage contract has been signed, the bridegroom and his friends feign to steal or forcibly carry off the bride. There is no custom more widely spread, or more varied in its forms, and in many cases the feigned theft is necessary to the validity of the marriage.

Among ancient evidences of its existence is Plutarch's observation that the Spartan bridegroom always carried off the bride by violence, arrangement having been previously made. A similar instance existed at Rome in one form of the plebeian marriage. The bridegroom and his friends invaded the house, and took the lady with feigned violence from the lap of her mother.*

In the "Captive Damsel" of Apuleius we have a story supposed to be based upon this custom. She relates that her mother, having dressed her becomingly in nuptial apparel, was loading her with kisses, when suddenly a band of robbers, armed like gladiators, rushed in with glittering swords,

* *Festus, De Verborum Significatione—Rapi.*

made straight for her chamber in compact column, and, without any struggle or resistance on the part of the servants, bore her away, half dead with fear, from the bosom of her trembling mother.*

The custom is said to prevail still to a great extent among the Hindoos. In fact, a similar marriage form is prescribed in the Sutras.† Among the Khonds the marriage ceremony begins with a feast at the dwelling of the bride. This is followed by dancing and song. When the night is far spent in these amusements, the principals are lifted by an uncle of each on his shoulders, and carried through the dance. Suddenly they exchange burdens, and the uncle of the youth disappears with the bride. The friends of the bride now seek to arrest his flight, those of the groom to cover it; the mock contest that ensues being often carried to great lengths.‡ Among the noble class of the Kalmucks a similar form appears. The price to be paid being fixed, the bridegroom and his noble friends go on horseback to her house to carry her off. Her friends make a sham resistance, but she is always carried off, on a richly caparisoned horse, with loud shouts and *feux de joie*.§

Dr. Clarke describes a different ceremony, probably ap pertaining to a different clan of the Kalmucks. In this the girl is first mounted on horseback, and rides off at full speed, pursued by her lover. If he overtakes her, she becomes his wife. But it sometimes happens that the fugitive does not favorably incline towards her pursuer, in which case she will not suffer him to overtake her. The author was assured that no instance was known of a Kalmuck girl being thus caught, unless she had a partiality for her pursuer.‖ In many cases this form of capture has become a mere pretence, as in lifting the bride by force on horseback; or, as in North Friesland,

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* *De Asino Aureo*, Book IV. † *Indische Studien*, p. 325.

‡ McFerson's *Report upon Khonds*, p. 55.

§ Xavier de Hell, *Travels in Steppes of Caspian Sea*, p. 259.

‖ *Travels, etc.*, vol. i, p. 433.

where a young fellow, called the bride-lifter, lifts the bride and the two bridesmaids on a wagon in which the married couple are to travel home.* Among the Bedouins the groom must force the bride to enter his tent. A similar custom existed in some provinces of France in the seventeenth century.† Among the Circassians exists a form like that in ancient Rome. In the midst of noisy feasting and revelry, the groom must rush in, and, with the help of a few daring young men, carry off the lady by force. By this proceeding she becomes his lawful wife.‡

Lord Kames gives a vivid picture of the custom existing in his day, or shortly previous, among the Welsh. On the morning of the wedding-day the groom appeared, with his friends, on horseback, and demanded the bride. Her friends, also mounted, refused. There ensued a mock contest, the bride being carried off mounted behind her nearest kinsman, and pursued with loud shouts. "It is not uncommon to see two or three hundred sturdy Cambro-Britains riding at full speed, crossing and jostling, to the no small amusement of the spectators." When they all were tired the groom was allowed to overtake the bride and lead her off in triumph.§ In Africa the same custom exists, as observed by Speke and others. Also throughout America. It is observed in its perfection among the people of Tierra del Fuego. As soon as a youthful Fuegian has shown his ability to support a wife by exploits in fishing and bird-catching, *he obtains her parents' consent*, builds or steals a canoe, and watches his chance to carry her off. If she is opposed, she hides in the woods till he is tired of looking for her. But this seldom happens.‖

Sir Henry Piers, in 1682, describes a custom of like nature among the ancient Irish. The ceremony commenced with the

* *Weinhold*, p. 50.

† *Marriage Ceremonies, etc.*, Gaya, London, 1698, p. 30.

‡ Louis Moser, *The Caucasus and its People*, p. 31.

§ *Sketches of the History of Man*, 1807, Book I, sec. 6, p. 449.

‖ Capt. Fitzroy, *Voyage of the Adventure and Beagle*, vol. ii, p. 182

drinking of a bottle of good *usquebaugh*, called the agreement bottle. Next the payment of the portion was agreed upon, generally a fixed number of cows. On the day of bringing home the two parties rode out to meet each other. "Being come near to each other the custom was of old to cast short darts at the company that attended the bride, but at such distance that seldom any hurt ensued."*

The Toorkoman youth elopes with his lady love to some neigboring village, where they live five or six weeks. In the meantime his friends obtain the consent of the parents. Afterwards the bride returns to her own home, where she is retained for six months or a year, sometimes two years, and is not allowed to see her husband except by stealth.†

This custom of spending the honeymoon away from home is observed by various other tribes, and has its counterpart in the civilized custom of a wedding journey. Among the Bedouins of Sinai, the maiden, when coming home in the evening with the cattle, is attacked by the groom and two of his friends. She often defends herself fiercely with stones. The more she struggles, bites, and cries, the more her own companions applaud her. She is taken to her father's tent, where follows the ceremony of throwing over her the Abba, or man's cloak, and the name of the groom is formally announced. In the Mezeyne tribe, the girl, after being captured as above, is permitted to escape from her tent and fly to the neighboring mountains. The groom goes in search of her, and is often many days in finding her. Her female companions know her hiding place and keep her supplied with provisions. The length of time she remains hidden from the groom depends greatly upon the impression he has made on her heart. After being found, she returns home, but runs away again in the evening. These flights are several times repeated before she finally returns to her tent. It is sometimes a year before she goes to live in her husband's tent.‡

* *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, vol. i, p. 122.

† Fraser's *Journey*, vol. ii, p. 372. ‡ Burckhardt's *Notes*, vol. i, p. 269.

We have thus given instances of the form of capture which extends through all quarters of the world. These might be greatly multiplied, had we the space; and they stretch away from such striking cases as these into fainter traces everywhere distributed.*

It becomes, then, an important question as to the true signification of these varied ceremonies, so apparently meaningless in themselves. The natural conclusion is that they must originate in some social state in which what is now a feint was a reality. We are forced to associate them in our minds with a period of savage lawlessness in which wives were habitually stolen. In fact, the custom to marry women captured in war is common in barbarous countries. But this alone could not have originated so wide-spread a legal symbol. It must have a much more general signification. The custom of getting wives by capture or theft must have been so general as to establish an association between capture and marriage, so that the pretence of rapine was afterwards required to give validity to the marriage ceremony. This custom must have been founded deeper than the mere savage desire to deprive foreign tribes of their women. We would naturally imagine that the primitive races would have married their own women in preference, and have made slaves of those captured.

Inquiring more fully into the origin of this system, we find two distinct sets of marriage customs prevailing in existing tribes,—that in which the youth is forbidden to marry within, and that in which he is forbidden to marry without the limits of his tribe. These have been appropriately termed exogamous and endogamous marriage. The form of marriage by gift or by sale could not have originated with the latter, since each primitive tribe is a group of kindred, common in interests and in possessions; but where several tribes are politically united, the right of intertribal marriage may result. In

* "Nothing in nature stands by itself. Each example of the Form of Capture leads us to contemplate a great area over which the custom once prevailed, just as a fossil fish in a rock on the hill-side forces us to conceive of the whole surrounding country as at one time under water."—*Primitive Marriage*, p. 41.

such a case the one tribe loses, the other gains, a woman, and such a marriage may well be made a question of compensation to the losing tribe. But such tribal unions are evidence of some degree of civilized advancement, and are no feature of primitive life; and, moreover, marriage by violent capture could not occur habitually in the case of such close political affiliation. The relations between the more savage tribes are always hostile, or nearly so. Each group, on separating from others, soon comes to view the others as enemies, and in such cases, where marriage within the tribe is prohibited, wives must be forcibly obtained from hostile clans.

The exogamous tribes now existing are numerous and widely distributed. The practice of capture is found in great perfection among the American Indians, existing everywhere throughout the savage races of South America, but more particularly in the regions of the Orinoco and the Amazon. The Fuegians have the practice as well as the fiction of capture. The Horse Indians of Patagonia are commonly at war with each other, or with the Canoe Indians, victory on either side resulting in the capture of women and the slaughter of men. The Oens, or Coin men, are more systematic, for every year at the time of *red leaf* they are said to make excursions from the mountains in the north to plunder the Fuegians of their women, dogs, and arms.*

The tribes of the Amazon and the Orinoco are in a state of constant warfare, and alternately rich and poor in women. Mr. Bates found the Manaos on the Rio Negro to resemble the Oens in habits. The Caribbees were found by Humboldt to form family groups, often numbering only forty or fifty, which were at constant enmity with each other. Capture prevailed among them to such an extent that the women of any tribe belonged so much to distinct tribes, that in no group were the men and women found to speak the same language.† Among the wild Indians of the North the same account is applicable in varying degrees. There are tribes, both in

* *Prim. Marriage*, p. 61. † *Personal Narrative of Travels*, vol. v, p. 210.

North and South America, occupying much higher planes of civilization than those we have considered; and in these, more advanced marriage customs have appeared. Thus in the nations of the Huron tongue and the Attakapas, the position of the women is exceedingly good.*

The capture of women for wives prevails among the aborigines of the Deccan, and in Afghanistan.† It formerly prevailed, according to Olans Magnus, in Muscovy, Lithuania, and Livonia.‡

There is ample reason to believe that the practice was general among the nations in the north of Europe and Asia. Olans Magnus, indeed, represents the tribes of the north as having been continually at war with one another, either on account of stolen women, or with the object of stealing women, "propter raptas virgines aut arripiendas."§ In numerous cases the plunderers were of the royal houses of Denmark and Sweden. Among the Scandinavians, before they became Christians, wives were almost invariably fought for and wedded at the sword-point. Among the Kalmucks, Kirghiz, Nogais, and Circassians, where the price cannot be agreed upon, nothing is more common than to carry off the lady by force. This capture constitutes a marriage, even before the parties come to terms.‖

The Australians, while having a general system of betrothals, yet employ the practice of capturing wives to a great extent. According to Turnbull, when a man sees a woman whom he likes, he tells her to follow him. If she refuses, he forces her to accompany him by blows, ending by knocking her down and carrying her off.¶ Sir George Grey says that many plots are laid to carry off the women, and in the encounters which result they are almost certain to receive some violent injury, each combatant throwing a spear at the

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* *Prim. Marriage*, p. 66. † Latham's *Descriptive Ethnology*, vol. ii, p. 215.
‡ *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, Book XIV, chap. 9, p. 481.
§ Ut supra, p. 328. ‖ *Primitive Marriage*, p. 73.
¶ *Voyage round the World*, vol. i, pp. 81, 82.

woman who refuses to accompany him. A young woman at all celebrated for beauty passes her early life in a continued series of captivity to different masters, of ghastly wounds, of wanderings, of rapid flights, and of bad treatment by other females. There is scarcely a form of unusual grace but is marked and scarred by the furrows of old wounds; and many a female wanders several hundred miles from her native home, being carried successively to more distant points.* As an Australian woman is always a wife, being betrothed after birth to some man of a different family-stock from her own, each stolen wife is taken from a prior husband. In consequence, the capture of wives is a signal for war; and as the tribes are very numerous and very small, they are continually at war with one another.

An anonymous writer in *Chambers's Journal* October 22d, 1864, describes as follows this practice of capture among the Australian blacks. Sometimes two join in an expedition for the purpose of capturing wives, and for several days watch the movements of their intended victims, skilfully concealing their own presence. When fully satisfied, they wait for a dark, windy night, when, carrying only their long "jag spears," they crawl through the bush to the vicinity of the camp-fires, where the girls they seek are sleeping. Slowly and stealthily they creep close enough to distinguish the figure of one of these "leulras." One of the intruders then extends his spear and inserts its barbed point amongst her thick flowing locks. Turning the spear slowly round, her hair soon becomes entangled with it. Then, with a sudden jerk, she is roused from her slumbers, and, as her eyes open, feels the point of another weapon pressed against her throat. She neither faints nor screams, knowing well that an attempt at escape or alarm will cause her instant death, but, like a sensible woman, rises and follows her captors. She is left tied to a tree at a considerable distance, while the twain return

* *Travels in North-western Australia*, vol. ii, p. 249.

to capture a second victim. They then haste with their prizes to camp, highly honored for their *gallant* exploit. In the Institutes of Menu, marriage by capture is enumerated among "the eight forms of the nuptial ceremony used by the four classes."* In the description of this marriage, called Racshasa, we have the exact prototype of the Roman and Spartan forms, in a code of laws a thousand years older than our era.

So the Mosaic code allowed the military class to marry women captured in war, whatever their race.† Grecian mythology abounds with stories of similar import, of which the carrying-off of Helen is the most noted instance. In Roman history, the story of the rape of the Sabines probably refers to a custom common to the ancient Latins. A similar story is that in chapters xx and xxi of the Book of Judges, in which, the women of the tribe of Benjamin having been destroyed, the men solved the difficulty by slaying the men of Jabez Gilead and carrying off the women, supplementing this by a "rape of the Sabines" upon the daughters of Shiloh.

Having thus traced this custom of marriage by capture through various parts of the world, we will next consider the tribal sentiment which gave rise to it, and afterwards the origin of this sentiment. Instances of prejudice against marriage between members of a tribe are numerous, and of very varied forms.

Major McPherson informs us that among the Khonds intermarriage between members of the same tribe is considered incestuous, and punishable with death. A state of war seems to make no difference, intermarriage constantly occurring between members of hostile tribes, who annually engage in fierce conflicts.‡

The Kalmucks are divided into four great nations or tribes, which are subdivided into many smaller clans. The common people do not marry within three or four degrees of

* Chap. iii, 33, Jones *v.* Houghton. †Deuteronomy, xx, 10–14.

‡ *An Account of the Religion of the Khonds*, p. 57.

relationship. But no member of the noble class can marry within his own tribe; his wife must be a noble, and of a different stock.* The Circassians are forbidden to marry within their own fraternities, though these sometimes comprise several thousand members. Formerly such a marriage was considered as incest, and punished by drowning. Now a fine of two hundred oxen, and the restitution of the wife to her parents, are exacted.† The Yurak Samoyedes of Siberia consider all the members of the tribe as relations, however large the tribe, and forbid marriage within the tribe limits.‡

The Chinese are divided into a number of clans, each distinguished by a clan name. Of these clans there are from a hundred to a thousand, according to different authors. The law is, that no man shall marry a woman of his own clan name. Thus relationship by the male line, however distant, prevents marriage. This rule is very ancient, its origin being referred by the Chinese to the mythic times of their empire. The legendary emperor Fu-Hi, who reigned before the Hea dynasty, which, according to the Chinese annals, began in 2207 B. C., is said to have divided the people into clans and established this rule regarding marriage.§

The system among the North-American Indians is very similar. The tribal affiliation of each person is distinguished by his *tolem*, generally some animal sacred to the tribe. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same tolem. Lafitau considers each nation as divided into clans, whose members are spread indiscriminately through the nation, and says that no clansman could marry a member of his own clan. Every child was considered as belonging to the clan of its mother.‖

The Indians of Guiana have similar customs. The Brazilian Indians vary, some being exogamous, others endogam-

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*Bergmann's *Streifereien*, vol. iii, p. 155.

† Bell's *Journal of a Residence in Circassia*, vol. i, p. 347.

‡ Latham's *Descriptive Ethn.*, vol. ii, p. 455.

§ Tylor's *Researches*, p. 278. ‖ Vol. i, p. 558.

ous in their customs. Among the Tinné Indians of the North the same rule holds. A man who marries a woman of his own tribe is laughed to scorn, and considered as marrying his own sister, even if she belong to a separate division of the tribe. The child takes the mother's name. In consequence, the clan names are constantly changing, and in time the country inhabited by the Chit-Saugh becomes occupied by the Nat-tsing, and vice versa.* In India the custom prevails to a considerable extent, and is of very ancient origin, the Institutes of Menu prescribing that a "twice-born" man shall not marry a woman related to him within the sixth degree, or one bearing his family name.†

The Battas of Sumatra enforce this custom of exogamy by a mode of punishment which we should imagine would effectually secure its observance. They punish those who impiously marry within the tribe by cutting them up alive, and eating them, grilled or raw, with salt and red pepper. They claim that marriage between a man and woman who had common ancestors is highly criminal.‡ The principle of exogamy is strictly enforced among the Australian tribes. These savages are divided into small tribes, named after the districts which they inhabit. The tribe inhabiting a particular district considers itself the owner thereof, and vigorously resents any intrusion. Thus, at first sight, there appears complete separation between the tribes. But close examination shows them to be welded together by blood ties in an extraordinary manner. It is said that the natives of different tribes, extended widely over the continent, consist of but a few families, the members of each family, in whatever tribe they may be, being known by a common family-name, in addition to their tribe-name. These family-names are spread over the country by the operation of two laws; first, that all children shall take the name of their mother; and, second, that a man cannot marry a woman of his own family-

* *Notes on Tinneh, Smithsonian Report*, 1866.

† Chapter iii, sec. 5. ‡ Taylor's *Nat. Hist. of Society*, vol. i, p. 122.

name. The members of each family are bound to unite for purposes of defence or vengeance. Hence, every quarrel between tribes causes young men to leave their native tribes, and enter those in which their mother's family may be strong. As the Australians are polygamists, and a man often has wives belonging to different families, the children of one father may be arrayed against each other, or against their father himself, in taking part in a family feud.* These instances will suffice to show the wide distribution of exogamous tribes, and the strength of the prejudice which has somehow grown up against intertribal marriage.

The instances of endogamy are less numerous, and, as they frequently occur in connection with some system of caste, there is reason to believe that they are not of primitive origin, and that they may, in some cases, have arisen from exogamous tribes through the gradual growth of caste distinction. Yet, this idea does not appear to apply to tribes like those of the Mantchu Tartars, who prohibit marriage between persons *whose family names are different.* It is a strange circumstance that tribes thus opposite in their marriage customs are often found inhabiting the same area. Thus, on the sub-Himalayan ranges are certain tribes which forbid intermarriage of clansmen, and others which forbid marriage outside the tribe-limits. In some districts, as in the hills on the north-eastern frontier of India, in the Caucasus, and the hill-ranges of Syria, are found a variety of tribes undoubtedly of the same original stock, yet in this particular utterly differing—some forbidding marriage within the tribe, and some proscribing marriage without it.† Despite these examples, the balance of evidence seems to prove the exogamous form the more archaic of the two, as it is also the one whose origin is more distinctly traceable from what we know or can conceive of the primitive condition of mankind, and from the proof afforded by the customs of existing savages. We will, therefore, next consider the origin of this custom,

* *Primitive Marriage*, pp. 112–114. † *Ibid.*, p. 147.

and the primitive habits of mankind from which it has arisen. All writers on this subject agree in considering that the most remote savages had no idea of the marriage-bond, living in a condition of complete promiscuity. Bachofen considers the primitive condition of marriage one of pure Hetairism, no marriage-tie being recognized, composing a relation which Lubbock describes as communal marriage. In several existing tribes a relation not many degrees removed from this still exists. Many tribes have no idea of the marriage obligation. We may mention the Paraguay Indians, the Hottentots, certain of the Hill tribes of India, the Yaribas of Africa, the California and Rutchin Indians, the Arawaks of South America, etc.

Schoolcraft says that the personal consent of the parties was all that was required in an Indian marriage. Among the Bedouins, though there is a distinct marriage ceremony for a maiden, the marriage of a widow is not considered of sufficient importance to need any ceremony. Cook tells us the Tahitians simply agreed to live together, yet that they were generally faithful.

Affection for wives seems to be an unknown feeling in these lower races, they being considered usually as convenient drudges. The Australian beats and spears his wife for the merest trifles. Few women are free from frightful scars on head and limbs. If they are at all good-looking, their case is so much the worse.* The Samoyede has no affection for his wife, and, according to Pallas, *daignent à peine leur dire un parole de douceur.*† Bachofen's theory is that the women revolted at length against the system of communal marriage and the slavish condition in which they were kept by their brutal husbands, and established a system with female supremacy, in which property and descent became in the female line, and women held the principal political power.‡ This is exceedingly doubtful. Savage and barbarous tribes

* Eyre's *Discoveries*, vol. ii, p. 321. † Pallas' *Voyages*, vol. iv, p. 94.
‡ *Das Mutterrecht.*

everywhere overrule and enslave their women, and we must look elsewhere for the origin of the system of kinship through females.

Sir John Lubbock's idea of the evolution of the marriage system appears to us far more probable. In a tribe possessed of communal marriage, no man could claim, as his peculiar wife, any woman of the community. By so doing, he would be trespassing on the rights of every other member, and would be sure to excite resistance.

But, in case the fortune of war enabled a member of the tribe to capture a woman from a hostile tribe, he could safely claim her as his own—his to kill if he wished, to marry if he wished, a right which no other member of the tribe could dispute. Thus, capture alone would give a man the sole right to a woman. As the women of savage tribes are made the useful drudges of their husbands, the man possessed of a captive wife in his own right might well become envied by his companions, who would, in their turn, seek to emulate his achievement. By this means a number of foreign women would gradually be introduced into the tribe, and a system of separate marriage instituted, in connection with the communal system.

One main cause leading to this result was the system of infanticide, so common among savage tribes. Sir John Lubbock thinks that among the lowest races the male children would be destroyed as often as the female, the chief object desired being to escape the trouble given by young children, and to lessen the number of unproductive members pressing upon their often slender stores of food.*

But this state of affairs could only hold good in races so low in grade as to have no thought for the future, and no development of the reasoning faculties. It would need but a slight exercise of reason to perceive that the preservation of a female child would be calculated to weaken, that of a male child to strengthen, the tribe in the future.

* *Origin of Civilization*, p. 70.

Among men often sharply pressed for the means of subsistence, and constantly hostile to their neighbors, it would come to be considered desirable to endure temporary inconvenience, for the sake of increasing the number of hunters and warriors in the tribe. But the female child decreased, without any hope of increasing, the food supplies of the tribe; weakened the mother when young; and became a temptation to the neighboring tribes when old. From these causes the custom of infanticide merged into the destruction of the female, the preservation of the male children, as now found in various tribes.

From this naturally resulted a diminution of the number of women native to the tribe, and an increased inducement to the capture of wives from hostile tribes. Thus the system of separate marriage would gradually be established, and with it a growing prejudice in favor of marriage from without the tribe.

From this paucity of women, increased in feeble tribes by the capturing incursions of their more powerful enemies, arose also the custom of polyandry, which is displayed in numerous forms in the existing savage tribes. It prevails in its most striking form throughout Thibet and in the Himalayan regions, being found elsewhere in Ceylon, among tribes of the north of Asia, and in parts of Africa and America. In former times it seems to have prevailed still more widely. Tacitus found traces of it among the Germans, and Strabo tells us that in certain cantons of Media a woman was looked upon with contempt who had less than five husbands.* Cæsar tells us that in his time polyandry prevailed among the Britons; † and other traces of its former existence remains. It occurs in two distinct forms, the ruder that in which the husbands are not brothers, the less rude that in which they are brothers. The latter form only prevails in Thibet. In several other places, as in Ceylon, the two forms coexist. Among the Todas of the

* Lib. ii, p. 794.

† *De Bello Gallico*, lib. v, chap. 14.

Neilgherry Hills, the girl becomes the wife of all the brothers, as they successively reach manhood. Her sisters, also, become successively their wives.* In the Tottiyars of India, the brothers, uncles, and nephews held their wives in common.†

In Thibet the choice of the wife is the privilege of the elder brother. The number of husbands does not appear to be defined or restricted within fixed limits. The same system prevails throughout the Himalayan regions, and generally in Ceylon. Humboldt found this form among the South-American savages, and Cæsar among the ancient Britons.‡

In connection with the polyandry of Ceylon are two distinct forms of marriage—the Deega and the Beena. The first occurs when the wife goes to live in the house or village of her husband; the second when the husband or husbands come to live with her. Among the Kandyans, the right of inheritance of a woman and her children depends on whether she is a deega or a beena wife.§ Among the Kocch, though their marriage is now monogamous, a like system prevails, seeming to point to former polyandry.

A yet stranger system formerly prevailed in Sumatra, consisting of three kinds of marriage; the Jugur, in which the man purchased the woman; the Ambel-anak, in which the woman purchased the man; and the Semando, in which they married on terms of equality. In the second form, the husband was usually of lower social rank than the wife, and became the virtual slave of her family; giving up all connection with his own kin, and being liable to be sent home wifeless and empty-handed at their will.‖

Probably, the strangest form which marriage has taken, in all its vagaries, is that in vogue with the Hassaniyeh Arabs,

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* *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, vol. vii, p. 240.

† Dubois' *Description of the People of India*, p. 3.

‡ He says: "Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus, et parentes cum liberis; sed si qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi a quibus primum virgines quæque ductæ sunt." *De Bello Gallico*, v, xiv.

§ Forbes's *Ceylon*, vol i, p. 333. ‖ *Origin of Civilisation*, p. 53.

and known as three-quarter marriage, the woman being legally married three days out of the four, but perfectly free on the fourth day.*

All of the various cases of forms of communal marriage which we have here presented, and which might be very greatly increased, tend to one special result, which must have arisen, more particularly, before the ancient communism passed into the later forms of polyandry and polygamy. This is, that no man would be certain as to who was his father. He would be raised by the mother, as a sort of tribal property, would naturally assume her name, and would only consider parentage as existing in the female line. From this arose a wide-spread system of kinship through the mother only, which has continued to exist in many cases in which its cause has long since disappeared.

There is good reason to believe that this system formerly existed among the Celts, and Max Müller has traced it to the ancient Brahmins. It also appears to have been in existence in the Semitic races, and is traceable in the Grecian systems. Its effect is visible in the habits of many modern tribes, and shows itself evidently in the wide-spread habit, of which we have already given several instances, of naming the child after the clan of its mother, and considering it as belonging especially to her family.

Another cause of this lack of knowledge of the paternal relation might be habits similar to that attributed by Lafitau to the North-American Indians, who, he says, visited their wives, as it were, by stealth.†

Herodotus says that the Lycians named the children from the mother. On the Etruscan tombs descent is traced in the female line. Many modern instances exist besides those we have already mentioned. We may instance the Nairs, and

* *Idem*, p. 54.

† "Ils n'osent aller dans les cabanes particuliers ou habitent leurs Epouses, que durent l'obscurité de la nuit. . . . . ce serait un action extraordinaire de s'y présenter le jour."—Vol. i, p. 576.

other peoples of India, the Saporogian Cossacks, certain Chinese communities, the Berberts of Sahara, and various other African tribes. Among the Buntar—the highest rank of Sudras in Tulava—a man's children are not his heirs. During his lifetime he may give them money; but all of which he dies possessed, goes to his sisters and to their children.*

When a rich man died in Guinea, his property descended to his sister's son. Battel says the town of Loango was governed by four chiefs, the sons of the king's sister, for king's sons never became kings. Quatremère relates that, "Chez les Nubiens, dit Abon Selah, lorsqu'un roi vient à mourir et qu'il laisse un fils et un neveu du coté de sa sœur, celui-ci monte sur le trône de préférence à l'héritier naturel." †

The prevalence of this system tended to make the exogamous tribes heterogeneous. The system of capture made the mothers foreigners, and hence their children, being related only to the mother, became foreigners also. This may have produced the system of intertribal marriage, members accounted of different tribes appearing within the limits of each group, and being considered capable of marriage with each other. Thus, endogamy may have gradually arisen from exogamy, and a system of betrothal, and of true, ceremonial, individual marriage have gradually arisen.

From this state of things, in time arose the recognition of the paternal relationship. This system of separate marriage had its strange forms, as well as the former systems noticed. One of the most peculiar of these is that of the Reddies of Southern India. A girl of sixteen or twenty is married to a boy of five or six, but lives with an adult, perhaps a maternal uncle or cousin, but not with a relative of the father. When the young husband grows up, he calls her children his; but, from her being now much older than he is, he, in his turn, takes up with some other *boy's* wife.‡ The recognition of

* Buchanan's *Journey from Madras*, vol iii, p 16.

† *Geogr. sur l'Egypte, etc.*

‡ Shortt, *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, new series, vol vii, p 194.

he paternal relationship must have followed eventually from he growth of individual marriages, and the occupancy of eparate dwellings by each family.

The polyandry, in which all the husbands were brothers, vould establish the certainty of the children being of their wn blood. In time the eldest brother became considered, by species of fiction, the father of all the children; the mother vas deposed from the headship of the family, and kinship became established in the paternal line. The elder brother became a sort of paterfamilias, the right of succession being n the younger brothers in their order, and, after them, in the ldest son. Thus, the idea of fatherhood grew up through he Thibetan system of polyandry. In most races, though, s the sexes became more evenly balanced, through progress owards civilization, the system of monogamy or of polygamy would arise. Paternity thus becoming certain, the practice f sons succeeding, as heirs direct to their father's estates, would arise, and, as this idea of paternal kinship arose, that f maternal relationship would die away.*

The former habit of capture had given rise to the idea of roperty in wives. In later systems, where the wife was obained by some form of purchase from her father, she was till considered her husband's property, and it is easy to see ow a restriction arose against inheritance of property through er. But the right of inheritance grew to be the test of kinhip; and thus, through slow stages, arose the system of gnation, or kinship through males only.

Our family system, in which the child is equally related o both its parents, appears at first sight the only natural one, ut it is only so in connection with our marriage system, there eing sufficient reason to conclude, as we have seen, that the hild is first related to the family group only, then to the nother, and not to the father; afterward to the father, and not o the mother; and, only as a final result of civilization, becomes related to both.

* *Primitive Marriage*, p 247.

Yet, simple as this growth of the idea of paternal relationship seems, and simpler as it would appear had we more space to reason it out, it has appeared to some writers a mystery only to be explained by a highly metaphysical theory.

Thus, Bachofen, after giving his views of the original state of Hetairism, and of the feminine rebellion to which he ascribes female kinship (as we have already described), proceeds to consider a third stage, in which what he considers the etherial influence of fatherhood prevailed over the more material idea of motherhood, resulting in men claiming political pre-eminence, and the rights of property and descent in the male line. Besides this, sun-worship followed moon-worship, and many other changes of a similar nature took place. The first stage he considers as a condition of lawlessness; the second, one of materiality; the third, one of spirituality. He regards the recognition of the paternal relationship as a liberation of the spirit from the deceptive appearances of nature, and a recognition of the superior importance of the creative power, producing a subordination of the material to the spiritual part of our nature. By this step, he says, "Man durchbricht die Banden des Tellurismus und urhebt seinen Blick zu den höhern Regionen des Kosmos." *

M. Girard Teulon considers the first recognition of the paternal relationship as an instance of noble self-devotion in some genius of the early human race.†

From these same causes may have arisen the system of caste in some cases, there growing up within the limits of a tribe families accounted as belonging to other tribes. Such local divisions growing numerous, and some of them, through success in war, attaining a pre-eminence over the balance of the nation, may have established a system of intermarriage with each

* *Das Mutterrecht*, p. 17.

† "Le premier qui consentit à se reconnaitre père fut un homme de génie et de cœur, un des grands bienfaiteurs de l'humanité. Preuve, en effet, que l'enfant l'appartient. Es-tu sûr qu'il est un autre toi-même, ton fruit? que tu l'as enfanté? ou bien, à l'aide d'une généreuse et volontaire crédulité, marches-tu, noble inventeur, à la conquête d'un but supérieur."—*La Mère chez certains Peuples de l'Antiquité.*

other, and have forbidden marriage with the remainder of the nation. A continuance of such a relation would produce a separate caste, and might lead to the whole nation being divided off into a series of castes, each distinctly separated from the others and confined within prescribed limits. In other cases, caste may have arisen through the pride of a conquering tribe, that forbade marriage with the conquered race, and fixed strict limits to their intercourse. In whichever way this principle of caste grew up, the members of each division might in time grow to consider themselves one kindred, and as descended from a common ancestor, their marriage thus becoming strictly endogamous. This is another of the reasons which induces us to consider exogamy as the more archaic form of the two. From the feeling of relationship thus originated may have grown up the law of blood-feud, which, binding each member of the tribe to avenge the death of any other member, may have had a powerful influence in suppressing infanticide.

This law of blood-feud exists everywhere, so far as we know, among rude races, and could only have arisen from the idea of kindred. It makes it a religious obligation for all persons to avenge the death of a relative. This protection, at first, extended only to adults; in time, came to include infants. And, as the system of female kinship often gave the child a large body of relatives outside its own tribe, their obligation to avenge the death of kindred must have greatly mitigated, and in some cases have suppressed, the practice of infanticide. In this manner it tended to restore the balance of the sexes and limit the system of polyandry. When, however, the idea of male kinship arose, all the kindred became included within the group, and there were no exterior avengers to consider. In such cases infanticide may have again arisen, and it is a curious fact that the most striking instances of it occur in such groups. *

The various facts we have given are not at all in accord-

* *Prim. Marriage*, p. 364.

ance with the idea of marriage as entertained by Mr. Maine, and other writers. In their view the family, under the father's government, was considered the primary unit, containing the germs of the state and of royalty. The family gathers other families about it, becoming the centre of a group, and these groups, tracing back their descent to a common origin, aggregate into tribes and nations. Tribes are numerous which make this claim to common descent. But, upon inquiry, the ancestor of the race is always a legendary hero or god—a being invented to explain the origin of the tribe. In some cases the time of the invention is known, as with the Greek tribes which traced their descent to the sons of Helen.

But the point of this theory is, that it considers man's history to open with perfect marriage and the full recognition of male kinship. On the contrary, we have seen that the tribal group was the original form of communities; that afterward arose local divisions distinguished by a common name, and by the idea of community of descent. Hence arose the clan, gens, or house, a feature occurring everywhere in early tribes, and marked in the tribal systems of India, Greece, and Rome. This system arose under the influence of female kinship; and not until a greater kinship arose, and the father became considered the true head of the household, was there any full development of the family system. Thus the family came last, instead of first, in the order of development. The tribe stands first, the gens second, and the family last, in the progress of society.

It was not until after all these gradual steps of progress had been made, that the marriage system, as at present constituted, began to appear, in which father and mother are equally related to the children, are of equal authority in the household, and in which not only the customs, but even the symbols of the ancient domestic slavery have disappeared, or are disappearing.

There are several other peculiar customs widely in vogue

relating to marriage, some of which are so curious that it will be well to give a brief description of them. The strangest of these is the general avoidance of intercourse between children and parents-in-law, in which the one is often forbidden to look at or mention the name of the other. The reason, or the origin of these customs, or of the many strange forms which these assume, is not clear to us, and we can only give some instances of their general character.

Under the peculiar Fijian system, known as the *tabu*, the husband and wife are forbidden to eat from the same dish. In other places, the father is not permitted to speak to the son after the latter is fifteen years old.* Among many races the woman is absolutely forbidden to speak to her son-in-law. This system prevails generally among the American Indians.† Among the Omahaws neither the father nor mother in law will hold direct communication with their son-in-law. ‡

Under the social system of the Mongols and Kalmucks a similar restriction appears, the wife being forbidden to speak to her father-in-law, or to sit in his presence. With the Ostiaks of Siberia, a similar rule holds.§

In China, customs of a like nature exist, and also in some of the Pacific islands. In some cases this peculiar system assumes the strangest and most decided form. In Central Africa, the lover carefully avoids seeing either the father or mother of his future bride, taking great precautions to avoid an encounter. If he is of a different camp, this prohibition extends to all the members of the lady's camp, except a few special friends, with whom he is permitted to have intercourse. He avoids passing through the camp, and, if obliged to do so, carefully covers his face.‖

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* Williams's *Fiji*, vol. i, p. 136. † *Origin of Civilization*, p. 7.

‡ James's *Exp. to Rocky Mountains*, vol. i, p. 232.

§ "Un fille mariée évite autant qu'il lui est possible la présence du père de son mari, tant qu'elle n'a pas d'enfant ; et le mari, pendant ce temps, n'ose pas paraître devant la mère de sa femme. S'ils se rencontrent par hasard, le mari lui tourne le dos, et la femme se couvre le visage."—Pallas, vol. iv, p. 71.

‖ Caillie's *Travels to Timbuctoo*, vol. i, p. 94.

This appears to be a relic of the old system of capture, in which the captor would approach with the greatest stealth, and carefully avoid being observed by the inmates of the opposite camp, as in the case of the Australians above described.

Another custom widely prevalent, and of a yet stranger character, is that known in Bearn as *La Couvade.* It consists in putting the husband to bed on the birth of a child, and nursing him with the greatest care, while the mother goes to her usual duties. In some cases the poor fellow is put on such a strict regimen that he really becomes sick. There are, in fact, cases in which his peculiar sufferings are continued for several months, and he is so hardly dealt with that a real sickness would be far more endurable. Cases of this description occur in various parts of America, and in many regions of Europe and Asia, taking often the strangest forms.

The idea thus symbolized is that the child is affected by anything happening to its nearest parent, and that any intemperance in eating, drinking, or otherwise, seriously affects the health of the child. Under the idea of male kinship, the father was considered the nearest parent; hence, was obliged to perform this peculiar penance. Max Müller says that the poor husband was first tyrannized over by his female relatives, and afterwards frightened into superstitiously making a martyr of himself, until he became really ill, or took to his bed in self-defence.*

Lafitau regards it as rising from a dim recollection of original sin, rejecting the Carib explanation that if the father engaged in rough labor, or was careless in his diet, " cela feroit mal à l'enfant, et que cet enfant participeroit à tous les défauts naturels des animaux dont le père auroit mangé." †

Only lack of space forbids our extending this article so as to include numerous other illustrations, as striking as those given. But what we have advanced will suffice to show the peculiar course of development of the marriage system, from its rude state among the lower savages to its present high standard.

* *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. ii, p. 281. † Vol i, p. 259.

The consideration of this question is an important feature in any research into the progress of mankind from savagery to civilization; and, short as is the time since it was first specially considered, it is already, as may be seen from the preceding observations, attaining a scientific completeness which will greatly aid future investigators, and which enables us to combine into a regular system the scattered observations of numerous preceding writers.

ART. V. *Presidential Messages, Proclamations, Reports of Nominating Conventions, Speeches in Congress, Investigations of Frauds, &c., &c.* 1869—1872.

IT is but seldom we have performed so disagreeable a task as that which we now undertake. No doubt many think that to all reviewers the language of censure is more agreeable than that of approbation. We can only speak for ourselves, but can truly say that our feeling and disposition are the reverse of this. Nor are there any whom we are more sincerely unwilling to denounce, ridicule, or condemn than those chosen by the people of the United States as the chief officers of the republic. Our respect for the nation constrains us to respect those placed at its head as long as it is possible for us to do so. That this is no mere pretension is amply proved in our pages, for it has restrained us many a time from showing how sadly unworthy has been the conduct of General Grant as President of the United States.

Nor would we deviate from that forbearance now had he contented himself with occupying his present exalted position for one term. But when he attempts to extend, and, if possible, to perpetuate, the power which, to use the most moderate language, he has used in a manner so injudicious and so selfish, then we feel that we should be recreant to our duty did we not at least ask all whom we can influence

to pause and reflect before they contribute in any way to prolong the domination of such a man for a single week.

Nor can it be pretended that we are actuated by any malice against General Grant. We have never asked an office of any kind from him for ourselves or anybody else. Although we have visited the national capital often enough since his accession to office, we have never troubled him for an interview—no one has ever seen us waiting in his antechamber for an instant. In no sense, then, can we be ranked among the "sore-heads;" and still less, if possible, can our opposition to him be attributed to political partisanship.

Our politics differ in nothing to-day from what they were three, four, or seven years ago; for they have always consisted mainly in our wishing to see the ablest and most honest men placed in the highest positions without reference to their political creed. We advocated the election of General Grant, but it was not because we regarded him as qualified, for we never entertained any such opinion for a moment. We did so because, defective as his qualifications were, they seemed no worse, upon the whole, than those of his rivals; whereas, he had a strong claim to public consideration, while they had very little or none. This claim was, indeed, the only argument which could be justly adduced in his favor.

It was his good fortune to have succeeded in putting down the rebellion after several other generals had failed to do so. The more intelligent portion of the public fully understood that none of his predecessors had so large or so well disciplined an army as he had under his command; it was also well known that none of our generals were so wasteful, at least so careless, of the lives of their own troops, or so willing to squander their blood; and it was further known that before General Grant gained any of his principal victories the Southerners had become disheartened and pretty nearly exhausted in their resources.

But the people of the North were too much rejoiced to see the rebellion put down—at any cost—not to feel more dis-

posed to gratitude than to criticism—in the case of General Grant; and far be it from us to condemn that sentiment. Our readers may remember that we fully participated in it ourselves; but they may also remember that while we yielded to none in our appreciation of the brilliant and valuable services General Grant had rendered in putting down the rebellion, and preferred him on this account to his rivals, we distinctly admitted that it would have been different had a man like Judge Chase or Mr. Sumner been nominated by any of the great parties. In other words, we urged the election of General Grant for having contributed so much to the salvation of the republic from dismemberment, because, although we did not believe he had any knowledge of statesmanship, his rivals were little, if anything, better in that respect than he, while we felt certain that he was more honest and less selfish than they.

It is chiefly because we must acknowledge that we never made a greater mistake than this—because he has convinced us himself by his conduct that he is neither more honest nor less selfish than Mr. Seymour, or any other politician that has ever received the nomination from any of our great parties for the presidency of the United States, that we now most earnestly oppose his re-election. We say "chiefly" because if he were even as honest and free from selfishness as the great Washington himself, we should consider his intelligence too limited, his administrative abilities too far below mediocrity, and his tastes too vulgar and grovelling, to be able to discharge the duties of chief magistrate of the republic in a manner to do credit either to himself or the country. That he has not done credit to either, but brought discredit on both during the past three years, no intelligent, candid person, not blinded by partisan prejudice, or some more selfish feeling, would for a moment deny.

We are quite aware that to those who have devoted little attention to the subject this will seem harsh; but few, if any, of our readers will require any elaborate arguments to con-

vince them that it is nevertheless just. All we deem necessary for the majority is to remind them of the more prominent facts. This is all the more agreeable to us because we have no taste for dilating on hackneyed themes; it is not our habit to busy ourselves in elaborately telling our readers what the most thoughtless of them must know already. And who is ignorant of the gift-taking, nay, gift-seeking propensities of General Grant? Who needs to be told that he has made high public functionaries of some of the most stupid and most worthless of his relatives?

Has any one made so little use of his eyes and ears as to need to be informed that General Grant has infringed in various ways on the liberties of the people? Is the memory of our people so defective that they need to be reminded of the course of General Grant towards St. Domingo? What sort of company should the president of the United States be expected to keep? Is it meet that his most familiar companions should be disreputable speculators, gamblers, quack doctors, etc.? Can it be denied that Fisk and Helmbold once occupied the first rank among his favorites? Then, is it necessary to recall his habits?

The newspapers, as faithful chroniclers, have long since answered all these queries. The replies to them have found their way, though only in distorted forms, into the president's own organs. We have just read Mr. Sumner's speech; we have also read some of the denunciations which that speech has elicited both from editors and senators. Yet it embraces not one charge that is new; not an allegation which was not preferred and substantiated, too, long since. Mr. Sumner's arraignment of the president is merely a *résumé* of facts already familiar to all who are capable of reading the newspapers intelligently. It is undoubtedly able, eloquent, and manly; but it adds nothing to the stock of knowledge previously within the reach even of those least disposed to indulge in research.

Indeed, the boundary line between what the public knew

efore Mr. Sumner's speech was delivered and what the sena-
or adds, is so well defined that we see it at a glance, and
hen we do, we find nothing substantial in it—nothing which
ight not have been entirely omitted without in the least
iminishing the just severity of the castigation. Thus, for
xample, we cannot but regard the senator's quotations from
hakspeare and the Bible as very much like those of the
rst arguments of the good-natured old gentleman in the
able, who found the rude boy stealing his apples. Still more
nappropriate, we think, is the comparison of President
rant's rings to the rings of Saturn. The Saturnian rings
erve the planet as so many lamps to show it light on its
ng journey, but charge nothing for their services. Still less
lo they enter into any collusion with Saturn by making him
resents, or bribing him in any other way, in order that he
nay allow them to rob his people. Again, both Saturn and
is rings exist and perform their respective functions in
ccordance with principles much more stable and more benef-
cent than those which placed General Grant in the White
House and surrounded him with the rings described by the
enator.

Still, it is but justice to Mr. Sumner to admit that there is one point of resemblance. What this is will be sufficiently understood from the fact that the ring nearest to Saturn is dusky, dark lantern-like, instead of being bright or luminous. Then, as the ring nearest to Grant is the Dent or family ring, which is composed of all sorts of persons whose intellectual and moral training has been neglected in their youth, we are reminded that if there be any chance of its head being re-elected, Congress could make no better use of so much of the public money than to appropriate a million or two for the education of the whole tribe. And should there be any overplus, it might be devoted to the employment of competent teachers of political economy, moral philosophy, statesmanship, English grammar, modern history, etc., for the heads of the Treasury and State departments.

But one word more in regard to the senator who so well represents the culture, intelligence, manliness, and honesty of Massachusetts, and who contrasts so strikingly in all these respects with the gentleman who manages, or rather grossly mismanages, the Treasury department.* In concentrating his indignation, and scorn, and warning his countrymen against the worst kind of Cæsarism,—the Cæsarism of ignorance, stolidity, greed, and avarice,—a Cæsarism which is a libel on the illustrious founder of the Roman empire, the author of one of the greatest and most eloquent speeches ever delivered in the Roman senate,† and the author of the noblest commentaries ever written,‡—Mr. Sumner draws a picture which so fully accords with our own views, that it affords us pleasure to place it on record in our pages :—

"I protest against him as radically unfit for the presidential office, being essentially military in nature, without experience in civil life, without aptitude for civil duties, and without knowledge of republican institutions, all of which is perfectly apparent, unless we are ready to assume that the matters and things set forth to-day are of no account, and then declare, in further support of the candidate, boldly, that nepotism in a president is nothing; that gift-taking with repayment in official patronage is nothing; that violations of the

* That this is no new discovery on our part, most of our readers will remember. In order to satisfy those whose memory may be defective, we extract a passage from our criticism of the first annual report of the present head of the treasury ring, only premising that in December last, when the financial credit of the country seemed in danger in Europe, we allowed one of our contributors to draw a veil over certain things, which, if exhibited to the world in their naked deformity, might have compromised the honor of the nation :—

"If Massachusetts does not feel humiliated, on reading the document before us, it is because she has never recognized Mr. Boutwell as anything more than one of her fourth-rate politicians. O shades of Webster, Everett, and Choate! But, certainly Massachusetts has sufficient intellectual culture and statesmanship to-day to represent her respectably in the national cabinet. Nor need she go beyond the radical party to choose one possessed of those qualifications; we do not, however, mean the silver-spoon gentleman, although he, too, has a hundred-fold more ability than Mr. Boutwell. We do not, indeed, admire all that is said and done by Mr. Sumner. But he would do vastly more honor, both to Massachusetts and the nation, at the head of the treasury department, than the author of the report before us. That it is not on political grounds we criticise our present secretary of the treasury, is sufficiently obvious from the fact that we should be entirely satisfied with Mr. Sumner in that position, because, however much he may err in some respects, he has undeniable claims to the character of a statesman and political economist. He would represent the refinement, as well as the talent, of Massachusetts; whereas the characteristics of that enlightened state represented at present are its petty thrift, its fussy smartness, its little cunning, its narrow prejudices—in a word, its 'Yankee notions.' We do not say that all this is apparent in Mr. Boutwell's report, but it is as much like the author as any composition of the kind could be said to resemble its manufacturer."—*N. Q. R.*, No. xxix, Dec., 1869, p. 180.

† *Vide* Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* c. ‡ *De Bello Gallico.*

constitution and law, international and municipal, are nothing; that quarrel with political associates is nothing; and that all his presidential pretensions in their motley aggregation, being a new Cæsarism, or personal government, are nothing. But if these are all nothing, then is the Republican party nothing, nor is there any safeguard for republican institutions. In every direction is muddle. Muddle with Spain, muddle with Cuba, muddle with the Black Republic, muddle with distant Corea, muddle with Venezuela, muddle with Russia, muddle with England; on all sides one diversified muddle. To this condition are we reduced. Are these the laurels of a presidential candidate?"

Although we have abstained, as we have said, on many occasions, from making criticisms, being unwilling to have the finger of scorn pointed at the highest functionaries of the republic, we can recall some hints which we have given from time to time, to show that our opinion as to General Grant's utter unfitness is of no recent formation. Thus, for example, although we do not mention his name in the article entitled "Our Millionaires and their Influence," published before he was one year in office,* it was his conduct suggested the subject. This may be easily seen from an extract or two:—

"They (the millionaires) may then live on the most intimate terms with the highest of our rulers. If they wish to *become great public functionaries* such as high chamberlains, ambassadors to foreign courts, etc., or even to make such of their hired eulogists or private secretaries, *they have only to make a few liberal presents*, and if they are not very hard to be pleased, the whole affair will be arranged in due time to their entire satisfaction."

Comparing the past with the present, we remarked, in the same article:—

"It would not do at this time (antiquity) for the ambitious candidate, even though a millionaire, to set somebody to prepare a biography of him, who would represent that he was familiar with ancient languages, the letters of whose alphabets he could hardly distinguish from each other. . . . Especially did all this prove a failure if the millionaire candidate belonged to that class who not only covet every good piece of land, or every handsome, convenient house that hap-

* Dec., 1869. No. xxxix.

pens to be within the range of their vision, but unhesitatingly offer to buy it from the owner, and if the owner declines, become indignant and spiteful. Yet such were sometimes successful even in classic times. We have a very interesting instance of this in the works of Plato. Socrates and some of his friends are discussing public matters, as usual; referring to the people of Syracuse, one of the interlocutors proceeds to say: 'And they have just now sent ambassadors, intending, as it seems to me, to *deceive*, in some way, the state. During our conversation, the ambassadors from Syracuse happened to pass by; when, pointing to one of them, Erasistratus observed: "That person, Socrates," said he, "is the most wealthy of the Siceliotes and Italiotes; and how should he not be?"' etc. Erasistratus here proceeds to point out the different sources of the ambassador's wealth; having satisfactorily proved that he is a millionaire, Socrates asks, as it were, incidentally, 'What kind of person, Erasistratus, does this man seem to be in Sicily?' 'This man,' said he, 'both seems to be and is one of the most knavish of all the Siceliotes and Italiotes, by how much is he the wealthiest; so that should you be willing to ask any Siceliotes whom he thought to be the greatest knave, not one of them would mention any other person than him.'" *

Need we say that this was in allusion to one of General Grant's first performances as president of the United States? And whether that performance was the result of pure friendship or generous patriotism might perhaps be inferred from the magnificent offer made by the gentleman sought to be honored—probably the highest bid ever made in ancient or modern times for an office. The same circumstances have caused not a few to inquire what the gentleman paid who was fully installed? what the treasury official paid? etc. That our opinion of General Grant's government was no better six months later, after we had crossed and re-crossed the Atlantic, the following passage will show :—

"For the rest, it is idle to disguise the fact, that we were not a little pained, to be told in every country we visited, that while the government of no enlightened country has treated the press with less favor than the present national government of the United States, no government has to depend so much on the press to save it from

* Plato's Works, vol. vi, *Eryxias*, c. 1, 2.

being laughed to scorn, at home as well as abroad, for its ignorance and imbecility. Every intelligent person one meets is quite aware how grateful our government ought to feel to the New York *Herald*, *Times*, and *Tribune*—especially the two former—for bolstering up or explaining away its innumerable blunders, including the violence which it is constantly doing the English language in its public documents." *

Referring to the press leads us naturally to consider the nomination of Mr. Greeley. Before doing so, however, we again distinctly disclaim any wish to deprive General Grant of an iota of the credit justly due to him for his success as a general in crushing the rebellion. If the country were engaged in another war to-morrow, at home or abroad, there is no commander in whom we should have more confidence. War, at best, we can only regard as a system of organized human butchery. In this respect we fully adopt the sentiment of Homer:—

> "Curs'd is the man, and void of law and right,
> Unworthy property, unworthy light,
> Unfit for public rule, or private care,
> That wretch, that monster, who delights in war." †

Unfortunately, however, the butchery is sometimes not only necessary but unavoidable. When this happens, then, all honor to the chief butcher who does his work faithfully and effectually. But that one may be an excellent butcher and yet prove an execrable statesman, is illustrated but too plainly in the present case. We regret to add that General Grant also furnishes a most painful illustration of the ancient precept that nothing is more demoralizing to minds of a certain calibre than the possession of supreme power. We have the authority of Aristotle and Seneca, as well as that of Grotius, Locke, Vatel, and Bolingbroke, for the opinion that the individual who might continue honest and modest, frugal and faithful, all his life, in some position suited to his talents, is liable to become unscrupulous, vain, avaricious, insolent, and

* Visit to Europe—Some Things usually Overlooked." No. xli, June, 1870.

† *Iliad*, xx, 87, 92.

even tyrannical, on being invested with power, even if only for a single year.

But we find we have little space left to discuss the fitness or unfitness of Mr. Greeley. It is a remarkable fact, that, while there is no country in the world in which the press exercises so powerful and all-pervading an influence as it does in the United States, there is no enlightened country in which its members are less honored. All ambitious to become public functionaries are ready enough to make the best use they can of newspaper editors; but while doing their utmost to secure their good-will, they affect to despise them as mere tools. Nor is it alone the office-seeking politicians—those that make politics their exclusive trade—who regard them in this light: a large proportion of the public has the same feeling. But it is themselves the editors have chiefly to blame; they are too fond of vilifying each other. If they abused each other much less, the public at large, as well as the politicians, would respect and esteem them much more.

There is no good reason why American editors should not be placed in as high positions, as English, French, or German editors. None have filled higher offices in any of the chief countries of Europe than editors, or writers for the press; and it may be added, without fear of contradiction, that none have discharged the duties of those offices more ably or more faithfully. In illustration of this, we might mention a dozen of English newspaper and periodical writers who have attained the highest positions; but one will be sufficient. The highest functionary in England next to the sovereign is the lord chancellor, and it is universally admitted that there has been no English chancellor for at least a century who has performed his duties more ably or more faithfully than the late Lord Brougham, one of the founders, and for nearly a quarter of a century, one of the chief writers of the "Edinburgh Review." For many years M. Guizot was an editor and correspondent; and for many years he was prime minister of France, and confessedly one of the ablest that great country ever had.

M. Thiers also has been a journalist for at least a decade, and in time he became prime minister. At the moment of his country's deepest adversity and humiliation, when she had most need for a statesman to lead her back into the path of prosperity and glory, he was chosen by common consent as the most competent in such a crisis; and both Europe and America bear testimony to the wisdom, ability, and genuine patriotism which he has evinced, without ostentation, as president of the republic.

Thus far, no three editors in America have been placed in positions in which they could be compared with Wolsey, Richelieu, and Mazarin, respectively, as the English and French journalists mentioned have most favorably been by those best versed in the science of government and jurisprudence. But several of our editors have been elected to the state and national legislatures; a few have been placed by their fellow-citizens in offices more or less important; and if either be compared with others occupying similar positions, it will be found that the editors have proved themselves at least as able, efficient, and faithful public servants as the lawyers, or those who devote themselves exclusively to office-seeking. Especially have they proved themselves superior to the tribe of majors, colonels, generals, etc. This is true, for example, of the late Mr. Raymond. It was generally admitted, even by his opponents, that none of his predecessors had acquitted themselves more ably or more faithfully, either as lieutenant-governor or speaker. Philadelphia never had a better chief magistrate, in any sense of the term, or one that made a nearer approach to the character of a model mayor, than Mr. McMichael, of the "North American." Erastus Brooks, of the "Express" compares favorably in ability and honesty, as well as intelligence, with the best of our congressional legislators; and the same remark applies with equal force to Mr. Anthony, of the "Providence Journal."

But Horace Greeley has also had some experience as a legislator; and if he did not distinguish himself in congress

by the eloquence or brilliancy of his speeches, he at least proved himself a faithful public servant, and fully maintained his well-earned prestige as the uncompromising friend of human freedom. It is needless for us either to discuss the character of Mr. Greeley as a man and a citizen, or to inquire what are his qualifications for the presidency of the United States. His failings, as well as his virtues, are familiar to all who read newspapers. Both are exaggerated in turn, according as those who describe them are friends or opponents; for as to enemies, we do not believe Horace Greeley has any. At least, no one possessed of equal talent and ability as a writer, with equal opportunity of giving publicity to his views, has fewer enemies. We should wish, indeed, that Mr. Greeley were more liberally educated; that he evinced better taste both in his language and in his apparel; that he were more refined and dignified in his manners; that he were less vain and less credulous; and that he were less disposed to adopt and advocate visionary theories.

But in the most essential of the requirements thus negatively indicated, Mr. Greeley is at least the equal of General Grant. In every other important particular, with one exception, the editor is vastly superior to the general. As a fighter, indeed, with any more destructive weapon than pen or tongue, Greeley is not equal to Grant. But if at any time the pen is not stronger than the sword at the present day, it is only during actual war. One represents the power of the mind, the other that of the body; and is it not as true to-day, as when Sallust wrote, that the former we possess in common with the gods, the latter in common with the lower animals.* In short, the man who has ideas on multifarious subjects—though some of those ideas may be erroneous, or even absurd—is certainly better qualified to be the chief magistrate of a great and enlightened nation, than the man who has no idea save on

* Alterum nobis cum diis, alterum cum belluis commune est.—*Bell. Cat.* c. i.

one subject—carnage and blood, and the demoralized habits resulting therefrom.

As to the inconsistencies of Mr. Greeley's opinions—none of us should be ashamed to admit that we are wiser this year than we were last year, or several years ago. Especially ought we not to be ashamed if our altered views are in favor of humanity. None were more opposed to the rebellion than the writer of this article was from its commencement to its end—none were more in favor, as our pages show, of crushing it by every legitimate means. But once it was put down, none were more in favor of a general amnesty. We showed from ancient and modern authorities that it was the wisest as well as the most humane and generous course.* If, therefore, Mr. Greeley was reprehensible in this respect, so were we; so were many of our most patriotic citizens; nay, so was Seneca, so was Cicero, so was Livy, so was Grotius, so was Vatel, so was Montesquieu, etc., etc.

With regard to the nomination of General Grant by the Philadelphia convention—that we regard as a matter of course. The ample patronage at his disposal, and his well-known readiness to barter off public interests for personal services, place it beyond doubt. Is it not chiefly for his proneness to exercise this corrupt influence that so large a number of his former friends have deserted him? And is it not chiefly because Horace Greeley is regarded as incapable of exercising such corrupt influences that those friends of the former have nominated the latter, and pledged themselves to use every legitimate means in their power to secure his election? Besides, there are the various reasons which we have already mentioned, especially the difference between one who can think for himself and one who must employ others to think for him; the difference between intelligence and lack of intelligence; in short, almost the difference between mind and matter.

Thus it is that if we are allowed to choose between General

* *Vide* No. xxiv, March, 1866, Art. "The President's Veto—Rights of Conquered."

Grant and Horace Greeley for the presidency of the United States, the latter is, indeed, our choice. Nor do we believe the democracy can pursue a more judicious course than to adopt Mr. Greeley as their candidate. As for rejecting him merely because he has so long opposed them in his paper, that would be unworthy of a great national party. Should they nominate a more competent man, however, and one more generally acceptable to the intelligent classes throughout the country, then we would urge our readers to vote for the democratic candidate. But to ask any one to vote for a candidate merely because he has obtained the democratic nomination, or the republican nomination, seems to us so senseless a proceeding that we should be ashamed to be guilty of it. When different candidates are before the public we are in favor of the election of the one whom we regard as the best qualified and most honest, without pausing for a moment to inquire whether he is called, or calls himself, a republican, a radical, or a democrat; and hence it is that of the candidates now in the field the one whose election we would urge, with all the energy we possess, is Mr. Horace Greeley.

ART. VI.—1. *The Iliad of Homer.* Translated into English blank verse. By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. 2 vols. 8vo. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

2. *The Odyssey of Homer.* Translated into English blank verse. By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

MANY a time have we been asked how we can reconcile our overlooking a new translation of Homer with our avowed devotion to the principles of taste, as developed in classic literature. But we have been guilty of no such omission. We have overlooked neither Mr. Bryant's translation, nor any

other worthy of the name. Had we regarded Mr. Bryant's as a superior version when we first examined a part of it, nearly three years ago, none would have taken more pleasure in proclaiming its superiority. Nor would we have postponed so agreeable a task for a single quarter. As it was, we were in no hurry. We think the facts will show that it would have been otherwise had we been influenced either by pedantry or a disposition to give pain. Our real feeling was that we regarded the attempt as one of those in which it is honorable even to fail, especially at Mr. Bryant's time of life.

By this, however, we do not mean that we have at any time considered the version before us in any worse light than that we should wish it were more faithful to the spirit of the original. While thus procrastinating, a gentleman fully competent, who is as friendly towards the translator as we are ourselves, sent us a brief review of the first volume, and this we inserted just two years ago,* under the head of "Notices and Criticisms." More than a year later, on seeing the first volume of Mr. Bryant's Odyssey, we resolved to give our impressions of the whole version in our next number; but we had scarcely formed that resolution, when the manager of one of the greatest daily journals in the world requested us to furnish him a review of the new translation. We may remark, in passing, that, having never seen Greek letters used in an American daily paper,† we avoided quoting the original as much as possible, and the brief extracts we felt it necessary to make we gave in Roman letters. But we regarded it as an interesting illustration of the enterprising and enlightened

* June, 1870, No. xli.

† Indeed, the only daily paper printed in the English language in which we had seen the Greek used was the London Times, which contains, from time to time, as learned, elaborate, and searching criticisms as any of the great literary periodicals, for it has been a part of the plan of that journal, for the last quarter of a century, to secure occasional contributions from the most accomplished scholars, as well as from the most eminent authors. Thus, for example, nowhere have we seen a more learned or more satisfactory review of Jowett's translation of the Dialogues of Plato, than in the Times, which devoted a whole page to it. The late Mr. Raymond vied with Mr. Bennett—as he did in other enterprises equally laudable—in his efforts to impart a similar feature to American journalism.

spirit which distinguishes our leading metropolitan journals, that, in sending us the proof-sheets, the editor said: "By all means use the Greek letters; I will see that they be correctly printed." And so the fact proved. We had occasion to use Greek in the "Westminster Review," when that journal was most classic; also in the "North-American Review," in its palmiest days—nearly twenty years ago; and in neither was the language of Homer more faithfully reproduced than in the great daily journal alluded to.

Now, we want to show those who have rallied us about our forgetfulness, not only that we have not been forgetful, but also that we would not say anything of Mr. Bryant, or his translation, in another journal which we would not say in our own. It is superfluous to be more particular as to the columns from which we reproduce this article, than to remark that it was published October 21, 1871:—"The public has now had sufficient time to form its own opinion of Mr. Bryant's translation of the 'Iliad.' When the first volume was issued we resolved to attempt no critical examination of the work until it should be completed. That time has now arrived, for we have before us the new 'Odyssey,' as well as the new Iliad. Among all who have praised Mr. Bryant's version as the best ever made, there is not one who entertains a kinder feeling toward the translator than we do ourselves. Nor do we yield to any in our appreciation of his own original poems; certainly none have a more sincere admiration for the beauties of 'Thanatopsis.' But does it follow, that, because Mr. Bryant is both a good poet and a good man, he is a good translator of Homer? If he is not the latter, should we praise him as such because he is the former? As for praising a translator of Homer merely because he is our countryman, the idea is too puerile to be worthy of a moment's notice. Do the English, the Germans, the French, or the Italians recognize any such canon of criticism? Not fewer than fifty of each nationality have translated Homer wholly or partly; but have their versions been eulogized by their countrymen on patriotic grounds? No

doubt some of them have, but not by critics. If those of the latter who are worthy of the name make any difference, it is in favor of foreign writers—as a matter of international courtesy. This is as true of Schlegel and St. Beuve as it is of Cicero and Quintilian. Since those of our readers who will take any interest in the subject are sufficiently familiar with the habits of English critics in this respect, we need only remark that nothing would offend the latter more than to accuse them of the sort of partiality that has been so widely invoked as a mantle of protection for Mr. Bryant's translation.

"For these various reasons, we must beg leave to consider the work before us solely on its merits. If those merits are not so many, or of so high an order, as we had been led to expect, the fault is not ours. Had the standard of classical education been higher in this country than it is, we should probably not have deemed it necessary to make the criticisms, which, as it is, we approach with sincere reluctance. Although nine-tenths of the eulogies on this version which we have seen are evidently by persons who know nothing of Greek, and whose knowledge of the vernacular is by no means perfect, a large proportion of our students are too apt to accept them as gospel. Youths of fourteen or sixteen do not understand the sort of patriotism alluded to above; still less do they understand the wonderful skill of certain publishers in so operating on editorial vessels containing only small-beer, that they will yield, or at least seem to yield, wine or honey. Accordingly, if they find a translation of Homer declared to be superior to all others, they naturally make use of it to aid them in their own renderings; then, if this translation is not what it purports to be—if, instead of being the best, it is inferior to many, especially in fidelity, or, rather, in want of fidelity, to the original—what is the effect of using it as an authority?

"It is no harm to remember that many have undertaken to give translations of Homer without any knowledge of the Homeric language, depending for success on their poetic ge-

nius, real or imaginary, and on their ability to read and transpose the versions of others. Far be it from us to insinuate that Mr. Bryant belongs to this class, although it is true that, from one end of his Iliad to the other, we do not find the slightest evidence of his having drawn his inspiration directly from the pure original fountain. Not a single note, philological, geographical, biographical, or even chronological, do we find in either of the two portly volumes before us; not an observation, or a word, in the form of prose, beyond the preface. It pains us to say that it would have been well that this also had been omitted; but such is really the fact, for the reason that no one qualified to judge can read it without feeling convinced that there are at least some of the Homeric characters which Mr. Bryant has utterly failed to comprehend. It may seem unkind as well as unjust to assert that he does not understand even the great hero of the Iliad; but no Homeric scholar would require any stronger evidence of the fact than that Mr. Bryant's estimate of Achilles is that 'he is a ferocious barbarian at best, and, as the narrative proceeds, he loses all title to our interest.' The reasons assigned for passing this judgment are such as might have been assigned against the most renowned chieftains of real life, including Alexander, Cæsar, Hannibal, and Scipio Africanus.

"There can be no greater mistake, although no mistake is more common, than to regard Achilles merely as a great warrior. The critics of all nations, from Longinus and Quintilian to Bentley and Maginn, consider that his unfathomable intellect is as striking a characteristic of him, and contributes as much to render him unique in his grandeur, as his gigantic strength and indomitable courage. The ninth book alone fully vindicates Achilles from the imputation of barbarity; but it is necessary to be prepared to read it, as we will show presently. Those who have undergone this preparation need only read the speeches of Ulysses, Phœnix, and Ajax—on the occasion of their being sent as ambassadors by Agamemnon to Achilles—and the reply of the hero to each. These speeches have been

famous in all ages. The greatest orators since Homer's time, including Demosthenes and Cicero, have studied them as models. No three orations are more unlike than those of the ambassadors; yet it has always been disputed which is the best, which is constructed with most art, which is most persuasive, or which is best calculated to disarm resentment; but Achilles is at no loss for a reply to the most ingenious and powerful arguments even of the wise and eloquent Ulysses. The hero proudly and scornfully denies that his ambition is for wealth, for great cities, or for kingdoms, although he receives and treats the ambassadors with the utmost courtesy and the most friendly hospitality. His anger is directed solely against Agamemnon, and the cause of it is insult and wrong. His beloved Briseis, of whom he is deprived by Agamemnon, is dearer to him than all the wealth of Greece. This he tells Ulysses in language very different from that of a 'ferocious barbarian,' justifying himself as follows:—

> "'For what cause
> Did Agamemnon, gathering from our realm
> An army, lead it hither? Was it not
> Because of fair-haired Helen? Are the sons
> Of Atreus, then, the only men on earth
> Who love their wives? Nay, every good man loves
> And cherishes his spouse; and mine I loved
> Tenderly, though the captive of my spear.'"—
>
> Book ix, v. 417.

"These lines serve at once as an argument against Mr. Bryant, and as a specimen of his translation; although regarded in either light, they do justice neither to Homer nor to Achilles. Another mistake which Mr. Bryant reveals in his Preface is that the Homeric poems were written 'for the popular ear.' The intention of the poet can only be inferred from the character of his productions. Now, let it be remembered that there was no species of learning possessed by the contemporaries of Homer of which he did not make use, in one form or another, in the composition of the Iliad. First, the military art, as known to the ancients, is fully described in that wonderful

poem; and the poet is equally communicative and instructive in regard to painting, sculpture, architecture, mechanics, medicine, politics, etc., etc. Thus, for example, he graphically and accurately describes a marble palace on arches, with many other works of art; but there is an amount of learning displayed, without ostentation, in his description of the famous Shield of Achilles alone, not to mention his celebrated catalogue, which never could have been 'popular' anywhere, in any age.

"Again, a work designed for the vulgar ear, or the vulgar mind, could never have furnished to Aristotle the principles upon which he has founded his celebrated Laws. Still less could it have formed more than a model for poems like the Æneid and Paradise Lost; for these great epics are not merely constructed, as closely as possible, on the plan of the Iliad, but derive their chief beauties from it, either directly or indirectly. In short, take away from either Virgil or Milton what he owes to Homer, and he has but little left for any 'ear.' As for the 'popular ear,' the Homeric geography alone, wonderfully correct as it is, would have sorely puzzled it; and, what is worse in the present case, that it has frequently puzzled Mr. Bryant in a way that can hardly be regarded as comfortable, may be easily seen by the initiated, from a perusal of his third book.

"We can only allude to one other thing which Mr. Bryant tells us in his preface: 'I have been sometimes, perhaps often, guided by the labors of my predecessors.' This is an honest admission, although it was hardly necessary. The difficulty is that our poet has been 'guided' by just that class of his predecessors who needed guiding themselves. But let us now give a specimen or two, in order that the reader may judge how much better, or how much worse, the blank verse translation of Mr. Bryant is than those of some of the 'predecessors' in whose wake he has followed.

"There are few students who are not aware that every great epic commences with the principal subject. This is true both of the Iliad and the Odyssey, as well as the Æneid

"Now we want to satisfy any competent judge as to whether we are hypercritical in regard to Mr. Bryant. What is translated 'this maiden' is simply τὴν (her). Regarding the lady as his wife, Agamemnon does not say '*my* Argive home,' but 'in *our* home in Argos'—

ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἄργει,

which is vastly more poetical, as well as more proper. Then, in reference to the 'couch' (λέχος), Mr. Bryant disposes of it exactly as Madame Dacier does. A lady may be excused for translating (ἀντιόωσαν) 'dressing' or 'making,' instead of 'sharing' or 'participating,' although there is not the slightest indelicacy in the original. There is much more indelicacy and more impropriety in making the beautiful and beloved daughter of Cryses a mere chambermaid and slave. But this reminds us of another passage in Mr. Bryant's translation. The reader will remember that, among the various valuable presents offered by Agamemnon to Achilles, as a bribe to rejoin the Greeks, were seven beautiful women. Mr. Bryant introduces these ladies as

"'Seven *faultless* women, skilled in household arts,
He offers; Lesbians,' etc.—Book ix, v. 334.

Honest old Homer makes no such statement as that they are 'faultless.' He knew human nature better than that. What he does say is that they are surpassingly beautiful in form—ἀμυμονας. Nor does the Greek poet say, or make Agamemnon or Ulysses pretend, that the arts in which those seven ladies are 'skilled' are 'household arts;' for the expression ἐργ' εἰσυίας makes not the slightest allusion to the 'household.'

"One other little passage, and we are done with Mr. Bryant's Iliad, although, if we find that he has given a better version of the Odyssey, we shall be most happy to give him full credit for it. Turning over the leaves of the first volume almost at random, we come to the opening of the third book, and transcribe these lines:—

" ' Now, when both armies were arrayed for war,
Each with its chiefs, the Trojan host moved on,
With shouts and clang of arms, as when the cry
Of cranes is in the air, that, flying south
From winter and its mighty breadth of rain,' etc.

"We have too much respect for the author of 'Thanatopsis' to laugh at this, and therefore prefer to sigh for the innocent student who expects assistance from such a version in preparing his lesson. First, Homer compares the marching of the Trojans to that sort of noise made by the flight of birds in general, using the expression ὄρνιθες ὡς (like birds); then he introduces the cranes (γεράνων). Mr. Bryant passes over the birds; he takes no notice of an expression at once so poetical and so well calculated to prepare the imagination for what is to follow. But, in order to compensate us for suppressing the rest of the feathered tribe, he informs us that the cranes were 'flying south' — a piece of information which Homer forgot to furnish, for he makes no mention of either north or south. Whether it is more poetical for cranes to fly from the 'mighty breadth' than from the mighty depth 'of rain,' is one of those questions which may be referred to our naturalists; for the Greek poet makes no mention of one or the other further than it may be supposed to be embraced in the term ἀθεσφατον (immense, or prodigiously great).

"But although we cannot regard that before us as a good or faithful version of the Iliad, we can conscientiously recommend it as much better and more instructive reading than three-fourths, even, of those publications of the present day which are regarded as standard works; for the style of Mr. Bryant's translation compares favorably with that of the best writers in our language. If, after all the noise that has been made in that regard, he is but an indifferent Grecian at best, far be it from us to blame him for needing a little more study."

This was our estimate nearly eight months ago, and we see no reason to alter it to-day. But, need we say that no one could illustrate his views of a translation of the Iliad so

as to afford satisfactory proof of their being correct or just, within the limits of an article in a daily journal? We attempted nothing of the kind in the above article. Most of our observations are necessarily little more than hints; yet it has been generally admitted that we were sufficiently definite to satisfy any competent judge of the justice of our criticisms.

Let it now be our first duty to show whether we were justified in dissenting from Mr. Bryant in regard to his estimate of some of the Homeric characters. Thus, for example, we objected to his regarding Achilles as "a ferocious barbarian at best" etc., holding that a person of that character would neither act nor speak as Achilles does; for instance, on the occasion of his receiving the ambassadors sent by Agamemnon. Still more unlikely is it, if possible, that the ambassadors would have delivered such noble speeches to a mere "barbarian," whether he was "ferocious" or not.

Now, we will quote a few passages from Mr. Bryant's own version of those speeches, and ask the reader, do they bear out the translator in his estimate? This we do all the more readily from the fact that in no part of his version does he succeed better than in these speeches. First, we turn to that of Ulysses. Because the sage of Ithica has more wisdom than either Phœnix or Ajax, he not only speaks first, but also at greatest length. He commences by complimenting Achilles; then he reminds him of former agreeable scenes in the tent of Agamemnon; then of his slaughtered countrymen; then of the danger which threatens the whole army of the Greeks; then of the advice of his father Peleus; then of the regret of Agamemnon for having offended him, etc., etc. After the ambassadors have partaken of the hospitalities of the hero, Ulysses addresses him as follows:—

"Thy health, Achilles! Princely feasts like this
Attend us both in Agamemnon's tent,
And here—for here is all that makes a feast
Complete; yet now is not the time to think
Of pleasant banquets, for our thoughts are turned—

O Jove-born warrior!—to a fearful time
Of slaughter, and the fate of our good ships,—
Whether we save them harmless, or the foe
Destroy them, if thou put not on thy might.
For now the haughty Trojans, and the troops
Who come from far to aid them, pitch their camp
Close to our fleet and wall, and all around
Kindle their many fires, and boast that we
No longer have the power to drive them back
From our black galleys. Jupiter, the son
Of Saturn, shows them favorable signs
With lightnings from above; and, terrible
In aspect and in valor, Hector makes
Sad havoc, trusting in the aid of Jove,
And neither reverences gods nor men,—
Such rage possesses him. He prays that soon
The morn may rise, that he may hew the prows
From all our ships and give them to the flames,
And slay the Greeks bewildered with the smoke.
For me I greatly fear the gods will grant
That he fulfill his threat, and that our doom
Will be to perish on the Trojan coast,
And far away from Argos, famed for steeds.
Rise, then, though late,—rise with a resolute mind,
And from the hard-pressed sons of Greece drive back
The assailing Trojans. Thou wilt else lament
Hereafter, when the evil shall be done
And shall admit no cure. Bethink thee well
How from the Greeks thou may'st avert the day
Of their destruction. O, my friend, when first
He sent thee forth to Agamemnon's help
From Phthia's coast, thy father Peleus said:—
"'My child, from Juno and Minerva comes
The gift of valor, if they choose to give.
But curb thou the high spirit in thy breast,
For gentle ways are best, and keep aloof
From sharp contentions, that the old and young
Among the Greeks may honor thee more.'
"Such was the old man's charge, forgotten now.
Yield, then, and lay thy wrath aside. Large gifts
Doth Agamemnon offer, to appease
Thy wounded spirit. B. ix, 278—324.

This, be it remembered, is not more than about half t[illegible]e oration of Ulysses. The reply of the hero is still longer. [illegible]t is entirely characteristic throughout—full of indignatio[illegible]n, indeed, but at the same time full of energetic thought. W[illegible]e can only make room for what may be regarded as the exo[illegible]r-dium:—

" Son of Laertes, nobly-born, and versed
In wise devices, let me frankly speak
Just as I think, and just as I shall act.
Hateful to me, as are the gates of Hell,
Is he who, holding one thing in his heart,
Utters another. I shall speak as seems
To me the best; nor deem I that the son
Of Atreus, or the other Greeks, can move
My settled purpose, since no thanks are paid
To him who with the enemy maintains
A constant battle: equal is the meed
Of him who stands aloof, and him who fights
Manfully; both the coward and the brave
Are held in equal honor, and they die
An equal death,—the idler and the man
Of mighty deeds. For me there is no store
Of wealth laid up from all that I have borne,
Exposing life in battle. As a bird
Brings to her unfledged young the food she finds,
Though she herself be fasting, so have I
Had many a night unvisited by sleep,
And passed in combat many a bloody day,
Fighting beside these warriors for their wives.
Twelve cities have I with my feet laid waste,
And with my Myrmidons have I o'erthrown
Eleven upon this fertile Trojan coast.
Full many a precious spoil from these I bore,
And to Atrides Agamemnon gave.
He, loitering in his fleet, received them all;
Few he distributed, and many kept.
To chiefs and princes he indeed assigned
Prizes, which now they hold. From me alone,
Of all the Greeks, he takes my prize; he takes
My bride, whom well I loved;—and let him keep
The damsel. But what need is there that Greeks
Wage war against the Trojans? —ix, 382—417.

Who will maintain that these precepts and sentiments are those of a "ferocious barbarian?" Do they not, on the contrary, evince a high degree of intellectual culture? And we may as well remark here as elsewhere, that while the passage just quoted from the oration of Ulysses, together with the lines immediately following it, quoted in our former criticism, occupies only thirty-seven lines in the original, it occupies forty-seven lines in the translation. The passage from the speech of Achilles occupies only thirty-six lines in the original, whereas in the translation it occupies forty-three lines. The whole speech of Ulysses is contained in eighty-two lines of the original, but in the translation it extends to one hundred and four lines. The whole speech of Achilles is embraced in one hundred and twenty-two lines of the original, whereas in the translation it occupies one hundred and fifty-one lines. Here is a difference of twenty-nine lines in one speech! This necessity for amplification which Mr. Bryant has experienced throughout his translation would go far to show, by itself, that Homer must have calculated on a much more cultivated ear than the "popular ear"—a remark that reminds us of that fine and just estimate of Quintilian, which embodies the essence of the views of Aristotle, Plato, Lucian, and Longinus on the same subject. "As Aratus thinks," says the Roman critic, "that we ought to begin with Jupiter, so I think that I shall very properly commence with Homer; as he says that the might of rivers and the courses of springs take their rise from the ocean, so has he himself given a model and an origin for every species of eloquence. No one has excelled him in sublimity on great subjects; no one in propriety on small. He is at once copious and concise, pleasing and forcible; admirable at one time for exuberance, and at another for brevity; eminent not only for poetic, but also for oratorical excellence."*

* Igitur, ut Aratus ab Jove incipiendem putat, ita nos rite coepturi ab Homero videmur. Hic enim quemadmodum ex oceano dicet ipse amnium fontiumque cursus initium capere, *omnibus eloquentiæ partibus exemplum et ortum dedit.* Hunc nemo in magnis rebus sublimitate, in parvis proprietate superaverit. Idem lætus ac pressus, jucundus et gravis, tum copia, tum brevitate mirabilis; nec poetica modo, sed oratoria virtute *eminentissimus* — *De Institutione Oratoria*, lib. x, c. 1, s 46.

Now we will afford our readers an opportunity of comparing a passage or two of Mr. Bryant's translation, with the same passages in other versions; but we would compare no translators with the author of "Thanatopsis," save those recognized as poets; for he is certainly superior to the rest, not excepting Lord Derby or Sotheby. It matters little what passages we extract, further than that our readers will doubtless prefer to compare those that are most beautiful in themselves, because most difficult to be entirely despoiled of their beauties, even by the most unskilful hands. The first of this class we happen to cast our eye upon is Priam's appeal to Achilles for the dead body of his son Hector. It is a very good specimen of Mr. Bryant's style :—

"Think of thy father, an old man like me,
God-like Achilles! On the dreary verge
Of closing life he stands, and even now
Haply is fiercely pressed by those who dwell
Around him, and has none to shield his age
From war and its disasters. Yet his heart
Rejoices when he hears thou yet dost live,
And every day he hopes that his dear son
Will come again from Troy. My lot is hard,
For I was father of the bravest sons
In all wide Troy, and none are left me now.
Fifty were with me when the men of Greece
Arrived upon our coast; nineteen of these
Owned the same mother, and the rest were born
Within my palaces. Remorseless Mars
Already had laid lifeless most of these,
And Hector, whom I cherished most, whose arm
Defended both our city and ourselves,
Him didst thou lately slay while combating
For his dear country. For his sake I come
To the Greek fleet, and to redeem his corse
bring uncounted ransom. O, revere
The gods, Achilles, and be merciful,
Calling to mind thy father! happier he
Than I; for I have borne what no man else
That dwells on earth could bear—have laid my lips
Upon the hands of him who slew my son."

"He spake: Achilles sorrowfully thought
Of his own father. By the hand he took
The suppliant, and with gentle force removed
The old man from him. Both, in memory
Of those they loved, were weeping. The old king,
With many tears, and rolling in the dust
Before Achilles, mourned his gallant son.
Achilles sorrowed for his father's sake,
And then bewailed Patroclus, and the sound
Of lamentation filled the tent."

—B. xxiv, 612–648.

Without making any comment, we transcribe the same passage, as rendered by Cowper:—

"Think, O Achilles, semblance of the gods,
On thine own father, full of days like me,
And trembling on the gloomy verge of life.
Some neighbor chief, it may be, even now
Oppresses him, and there is none at hand,
No friend to succor him in his distress.
Yet, doubtless, hearing that Achilles lives,
He still rejoices, hoping day by day,
That one day he shall see the face again
Of his own son, from distant Troy returned.
But me no comfort cheers, whose bravest sons
So late the flowers of Ilium, are all slain.
When Greece came hither I had fifty sons;
But fiery Mars hath thinned them. One I had,
One, more than all my sons, the strength of Troy,
Whom, standing for his country, thou hast slain—
Hector. His body to redeem I come
Into Achaia's fleet, bringing myself,
Ransom inestimable to thy tent.
Rev'rence the gods, Achilles! recollect
Thy father; for his sake compassion show
To me, more pitiable still, who draw
Home to my lips (humiliation yet
Unseen on earth) his hand who slew my son!"
So saying, he waken'd in his soul regret
Of his own sire; softly he placed his hand
On Priam's head, and pushed him gently away.
Remembrance melted both. Rolling before
Achilles' feet, Priam his son deplored,

Wide-slaughtering Hector, and Achilles wept
By turns his father and by turns his friend
Patroclus: sounds of sorrow filled the tent."

—Ib., xxiv.

The reader has now an opportunity of judging for himself of the comparative merits or demerits as translators of two genuine poets—also another opportunity of determining how much justice there is in describing the hero of the Iliad as a "ferocious barbarian, at best." The only additional remark we will make is, that Cowper evinces a much closer familiarity with the original than Bryant, while the American poet proves himself at least the equal of the English poet in his thorough acquaintance with the resources and graphic power of the vernacular. There is no better test-passage than the celebrated appeal of Andromache to Hector at the Scæan gate. The following is Mr. Bryant's version:—

"Too brave! thy valor yet will cause thy death.
Thou hast no pity on thy tender child,
Nor me, unhappy one, who soon must be
Thy widow. All the Greeks will rush on thee
To take thy life. A happier lot were mine,
If I must lose thee, to go down to earth,
For I shall have no hope when thou art gone,—
Nothing but sorrow. Father have I none,
And no dear mother. Great Achilles slew
My father when he sacked the populous town
Of the Cilicians,—Thebé with high gates.
'Twas there he smote Eëtion, yet forbore
To make his arms a spoil; he dared not that,
But burned the dead with his bright armor on,
And raised a mound above him. Mountain-nymphs,
Daughters of Ægis-bearing Jupiter,
Came to the spot and planted it with elms.
Seven brothers had I in my father's house,
And all went down to Hades in one day.
Achilles the swift-footed slew them all
Among their slow-paced bullocks and white sheep.
My mother, princess on the woody slopes
Of Placos, with his spoils he bore away,

And only for large ransom gave her back.
But her Diana, archer-queen, struck down
Within her father's palace. Hector, thou
Art father and dear mother now to me,
And brother, and my youthful spouse besides.
In pity keep within the fortress here,
Nor make thy child an orphan nor thy wife
A widow. Post thine army near the place
Of the wild fig-tree, where the city-walls
Are low and may be scaled. Thrice in the war
The boldest of the foe have tried the spot,—
The Ajaces and the famed Idomeneus,
The two chiefs born to Atreus, and the brave
Tydides, whether counselled by some seer
Or prompted to the attempt by their own minds."

B. vi, 526–563.

Every reader of this journal is familiar with Pope's rendering of the same appeal, yet none will object to its being placed here beside Mr. Bryant's version:—

"Too daring prince! ah, whither dost thou run?
Ah, too forgetful of thy wife and son!
And think'st thou not how wretched we shall be,
A widow I; a helpless orphan he!
For sure such courage length of life denies,
And thou must fall, thy virtue's sacrifice.
Greece in her single heroes strove in vain;
Now hosts oppose thee and thou must be slain!
Oh grant me, gods! ere Hector meets his doom,
All I can ask of heaven, an early tomb!
So shall my days in one sad tenor run,
And end with sorrows as they first begun.
No parent now remains my griefs to share,
No father's aid, no mother's tender care.
The fierce Achilles wrapp'd our walls in fire,
Laid Thebé waste and slew my warlike sire!
By the same arm my seven brave brothers fell;
In one sad day beheld the gates of hell.
My mother lived to bear the victor's bands,
The queen of Hippoclacia's sylvan lands.
Yet, while my Hector still survives, I see
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee:

Alas! my parents, brothers, kindred all
Once more will perish if my Hector fall.
Thy wife, thy infant, in thy danger share:
Oh, prove a husband's and a father's care!
That quarter most the skilful Greeks annoy,
Where yon wild fig-trees join the walls of Troy;
Thou from this tower defend the important post;
There Agamemnon points his dreadful host,
That pass Tydides, Ajax, strive to gain,
And there the vengeful Spartan fires his train.
Thrice our bold foes the fierce attack have given,
Or led by hopes or dictated from heaven.
Let others in the field their arms employ,
But stay my Hector here and guard his Troy."

Because Pope's is the most elegant and most poetical of all the English versions of the Iliad, it has always been the fashion with those who must find fault to regard it as the least faithful to the original. It is true that Pope is less literal in his rendering than almost any other translator of Homer; but it is equally true that, in general, and especially in the most beautiful passages, no translator infuses into his version more of the sublime spirit of the original. Whether Mr. Bryant is a better or a worse interpreter of the tender solicitude and sad forebodings of the model wife and mother than Pope, we leave the intelligent reader to judge for himself, merely remarking, as we pass on to the Odyssey, that in no other passage are the faults and beauties of the American translator more conspicuous than in that just given.

The space we have now left for the conclusion of this article is so brief that we would entirely pass over Mr. Bryant's Odyssey, had we not promised, eight months ago, that, should we find it a better version than his Iliad, it would afford us pleasure to bear testimony to the fact as soon as possible. We made this remark because we thought we observed considerable improvement in the two or three last books of the Iliad. This awakened in us certain expectations in regard to the Odyssey, and most cheerfully do we admit that those expect-

ations have been realized to a considerable extent, if not wholly.

In his Odyssey Mr. Bryant is less literal than in his Iliad, but decidedly more faithful to the spirit of the original. To many this may seem a contradiction; however, it is strictly true. If we had sufficient space, we could easily illustrate the fact, and we may do ourselves that pleasure on a future occasion. But the best we can do to-day is to transcribe a passage or two from the Odyssey, so that the reader may compare them with those from the Iliad, already given. We have another criticism or two to make, however, before we take our leave; and, as we prefer to close with the language of approbation, rather than that of censure, we must remark here that Mr. Bryant's Odyssey is by no means free from the amusing class of blunders, some of which we have pointed out in his Iliad.

In the former, as well as in the latter, he is rather fond of bestowing titles, and paying compliments, which are not in Homer. It is true that his liberality in this respect is evinced, chiefly, toward the goddesses, and generally toward the prettiest. Longinus says that there is such a thing as poetical gallantry, as well as poetical justice; but that honest and admirable critic adds, that the former can exist only in a spurious form without the latter. If this be true, we fear that the gallantry of Mr. Bryant toward such goddesses as Calypso and Circé is not of the genuine stamp. It is generally admitted that none of the Homeric goddesses were above suspicion as to their virtue. Some of them, however, had a much better character than their divine sisters; and, perhaps, we should not find fault with Mr. Bryant for styling the more immodest, or rather, the less immodest class, "virgins." At all events, we would not do so were it not that he stretches his courtesy, in this respect, a little too often. We cannot make room for more than an example or two. We only proceed to the fourteenth line of the first book of the Odyssey, when we find the following:—

"O goddess, *virgin-child*
Of Jove, relate some part of this to me."

Homer calls the lady neither a "virgin" nor a "child," but simply "goddess, *daughter* of Jove" (*θεα, θυγατερ Διος*). Mr. Bryant is equally fond of making use of such terms as "queen," "queenly," "mighty," etc., etc. For instance, we only proceed a few lines farther (v. 19) when we find Calypso styled "queenly nymph," the epithet used by Homer being "venerated" (*ποτνι*). A little further on we have from Mr. Bryant "the *queen* of Atreus' son" (v. 48), for the "espoused wife" (*αλοχον μνηστην*). Four or five lines lower down (v. 53) we have "queen" again for wife. In the same way Mr. Bryant gives us "Prince Orestes" (line 41) for Homer's "famous" or "distinguished Orestes" (*τηλεκλυτος Ορεστης*).

Mr. Bryant observes a similar style of politeness in regard to certain of the lower animals; but in this too he is probably influenced by his gallantry, it being well known that there are a great many ladies at the present day whose ears would be offended by such rude terms as "oxen," "bulls." Be this as it may, Mr. Bryant translates as follows:—

"He went to grace a hecatomb of *beeves*,
And lambs, and sat delighted at the feast."—v, 34–35.

Again,—

"Some beguiled the time
With draughts, while sitting on the hides of *beeves*
Which they had slaughtered." v, 133–6.

In one passage Homer uses the genitive "of bulls" (*ταυρων*), in the other he uses that "of oxen" (*Βοων*). It seems that while it is quite proper to call harmless, quiet animals, such as "lambs," what they are called by Homer, it is, at least, questionable whether we should be equally free in regard to naughty animals that have horns! If this be correct, the proper form of expression for the future is not, "Bring home the cows," or, "Bring home the oxen," but "Bring home the *beeves*;" not "There goes an ox," or "There goes

bull," but "There goes a *beef*." But, on the same principle ught we not to say, "There goes the *veal*," not "There goes ıe *calf?*"

Sometimes, however, Mr. Bryant goes to the opposite xtreme, and calls the goddesses, as well as the gods, hard ames. Thus, for example, in translating Vulcan's complaint gainst his wife, Venus, he makes the jealous old smith say,

> —"the impudent *minx*,
> His daughter, who is fair, indeed, but *fa'se*."—B. viii, v. 392–3.

ı the same passage he calls the God of War the "*butcher* ars" (b. 380). Homer is neither so ungallant nor so rude. he term translated "minx" is simply "girl," or "young oman" (κουρης); and what is rendered "false" means in ıe original "weak-minded" or "fickle," (ἀταρ οὐ κ' ἐχὲθυ-οζ). Then the term translated "butcher" is merely the ljective "pernicious," or "mischievous" (α'ϊδηλον).

We are sincerely sorry that Mr. Bryant has thus marred ›me of the finest passages in his translation. Still, there is not book either of his Iliad, or his Odyssey in which there not much to admire. Indeed, he sometimes fascinates us so uch, in spite of his glaring deviations from the original, that e readily forget his blunders, ludicrous as they sometimes re; and when we cannot forget, we as readily forgive him r them. This has been our feeling in reading most of the xth book of the Odyssey—especially the advice of Pallas to ausicaä, in regard to her marriage robes, and the sports of er maidens after the washing is duly performed. There are ints in the following lecture from the blue-eyed goddess, from hich many ladies, even of the present day, might profit:—

> "Nausicaä, has thy mother then brought forth
> A careless housewife? Thy magnificent robes
> Lie still neglected, though thy marriage day
> Is near, when thou art to array thyself
> In seemly garments, and bestow the like
> On those who lead thee to the bridal rite;

For thus the praise of men is won, and thus
Thy father and thy gracious mother both
Will be rejoiced. Now with the early dawn
Let us all hasten to the washing-place.
I too would go with thee, and help thee there,
That thou mayst sooner end the task, for thou
Not long wilt be unwedded. Thou art wooed
Already by the noblest of the race
Of the Phæacians, for thy birth like theirs
Is of the noblest. Make thy suit at morn
To thy illustrious father, that he bid
His mules and car be harnessed to convey
Thy girdles, robes, and mantles marvellous
In beauty. That were seemlier than to walk
Since distant from the town the lavers lie."—B. vi, 32—52.

The beautiful Nausicaä modestly requests her father to let her go. The result is finely rendered by Mr. Bryant. We extract a part of the narrative, partly for its exquisite beauty, and partly for the agreeable insight which it gives into the social habits of the Greeks of the heroic age. With this truly admirable passage we take leave of Bryant's Homer, only wishing that every one of our readers may read it carefully, and derive as much pleasure from it as we have :—

"He spake, and gave command. The grooms obeyed,
And, making ready in the outer court
The strong-wheeled chariot, led the harnessed mules
Under the yoke and made them fast; and then
Appeared the maiden, bringing from her bower
The shining garments. In the polished car
She piled them, while with many pleasant meats
And flavoring morsels for the day's repast
Her mother filled a hamper, and poured wine
Into a goatskin. As her daughter climbed
The car, she gave into her hands a cruse
Of gold with smooth anointing oil for her
And her attendant maids. Nausicaä took
The scourge and showy reins, and struck the mules
To urge them onward. Onward with loud noise
They went, and with a speed that slackened not,
And bore the robes and her,—yet not alone

For with her went the maidens of her train.
Now when they reached the river's pleasant brink
Where lavers had been hollowed out to last
Perpetually, and freely through them flowed
Pure water that might cleanse the foulest stains,
They loosed the mules, and drove them from the wain
To browse the sweet grass by the eddying stream;
And took the garments out, and flung them down
In the dark water, and with hasty feet
Trampled them there in frolic rivalry.
And when the task was done, and all the stains
Were cleansed away, they spread the garments out
Along the beach and where the stream had washed
The gravel cleanest. Then they bathed, and gave
Their limbs the delicate oil, and took their meal
Upon the river's border,—while the robes
Beneath the sun's warm rays were growing dry.
And now, when they were all refreshed by food,
Mistress and maidens laid their veils aside
And played at ball. Nausicaä the white-armed
Began a song." —Ib., 91—107.

ART. VII.—1. *Journal of a Residence in Circassia during the years* 1837, 1838, *and* 1839. By JAMES STANISLAUS BELL. 2 vols. London. 1840.

2. *Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tcherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie, et en Crimée.* Par FREDERIC DUBOIS DE MONTPEREUX. 6 vols. Paris. 1839.

3. *Recueil des Principaux Traités d'Alliance, de Paix, de Trêve, de Neutralité, de Commerce, de Limites, d'Échange, etc., conclus par les puissances de l'Europe depuis* 1761 *jusqu'à présent.* De G. FR. DE MARTENS. 8 tomes. Göttingen. 1835.

4. *Transcaucasia. Sketches of the Nations and Races between the Black Sea and the Caspian.* By BARON VON HARTHAUSEN. London. 1854.

SINCE the absorption of the whole region of the Caucasus

into the Russian empire, and the fall of the heroic Schamyl, the prophet-warrior of the Circassians, the world's interest in a brave and hardy race has greatly diminished; and what little is now felt is mainly directed to speculations as to the result which the annexation of their territory will have upon the Turkish empire. The possession of the countries lying between the Black Sea and the Caspian has undoubtedly given to Russia a commanding position as regards both Turkey and Persia, of which she will not be slow to avail herself when the fitting occasion arrives. It would really seem as if an irresistible force is slowly but surely working on her behalf, by removing from her path the obstacles which have hitherto kept her in check. Eighteen years ago, England and France united their forces to destroy her stronghold on the Black Sea, and force her to abandon her designs on Turkey. At the sacrifice of one hundred thousand men and some hundreds of millions of money, they destroyed Sebastopol, and drove her troops out of the Turkish dominions, limiting the number of her ships-of-war in the Black Sea, and her access to the Mediterranean. And what is there to show for this sacrifice now? Nothing. The treaty of Paris has been practically torn up; Sebastopol is being rebuilt; a chain of military forts and roads is in process of construction from Odessa to Teflis and Erivan; railways are spreading all over Russia, which, according to the most recent travellers, now resembles a vast camp, and Turkey is in greater danger than ever. Whilst the Circassians and the other Caucasian tribes were independent, they were a barrier to the Colossus of the North; and they might have remained so but for the weakness of Turkey and Persia, and the vascillating and short-sighted policy of the European powers, especially England and France.

It is curious to note how little was really known by the leading statesmen of England with regard to the position of the Circassians, and the sovereignty over them. In 1838, the subject was brought before the House of Commons, on a

motion by Sir Stratford Canning (afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), for an inquiry whether Messrs. Bell & Co. were entitled to indemnity for the seizure and confiscation of their ship, the Vixen, by the Russians, while she was trading on the coast of Circassia. Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Dr. Lushington, and other ministerialists, assumed that Turkey had at one time a right of sovereignty over Circassia, which had since been transferred by her to Russia. Dr. Lushington said: "The right of Turkey to Circassia was acknowledged in 1783 by Russia, and surely Russia was justified in taking, by the treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, a cession of her right to that country." Lord John Russell said: "The port of Soudjuk-kalé apparently did not belong to Russia until the year 1783. Up to that period the fact was acknowledged that it belonged to Turkey, in the map put forth by the Russian authorities. In that map a great part of Circassia was laid down as *belonging to independent tribes;* but three of the places so laid down as belonging to Turkey were, by the subsequent treaty of Adrianople, transferred by name to Russia. These places were Soudjuk-kalé, Poti, and Anapa. They were named specially in the treaty, and thence has arisen a claim on the part of Russia that the whole of that territory which had belonged to Turkey since belongs to her, and has been confirmed to and comes under her dominion." Lord Palmerston also recognized Circassia as being a portion of the Russian dominions, and consequently he justified the seizure of the Vixen.*

Mr. Bell, however, contended that neither Russia nor Turkey had any right, either *de jure* or *de facto*, to sovereignty over Circassia, and brought forward the following evidence in support of his views: In 1774, Russia and Turkey, with the view of terminating a war which had been carried on between them with various success, entered into the treaty of Kutshuk Kaynardji,† whereby the Tartars of

* Martens' *Receuil des Traités*, vol. iv, p. 607.

† Bell's *Journal*. Appendix No. XIII.

the Crimea, Bugine, *the Kooban*, Yedissan, Giambuiluc, and Sedicul, were recognized as free nations, entirely independent of any foreign power, and as being under the government of their own Khan, of the race of Jengheez Khan, who was to govern them according to their ancient laws and customs, without ever rendering any account whatsoever to any foreign power. Turkey agreed not to interfere in their domestic concerns, though, as the Sultan was the supreme head, or caliph, of Mohammedism, which was their faith, their religious affairs should be regulated according to the precepts of that religion. And Russia restored to them all the towns, forts, and places she had taken (excepting Kertsch and Yenikalé) in the Crimea, the Kooban, the territory between the rivers Berda, Conschiwode, etc.; Turkey likewise renouncing her rights over these same places.* In this treaty the Circassians are not mentioned by name, but they are included under the general head of Tartars of the Kooban. Circassia, properly so called, is the country lying between the River Kooban and the Black Sea, and, together with the extensive district lying along the north bank of the river, is indiscriminately called "the Kooban." The treaty also recognizes this territory as being under the jurisdiction of the Khan of the Crimea, but, in point of fact, that personage had authority only over the Crimea, the island of Taman, and that part of the Kooban district situated on the north bank of that river; over Circassia he neither had, nor ever pretended to have, any right of dominion.

In 1779, an explanatory convention was made between Russia and Turkey, in which it was stipulated that the Khans of the Tartars might send to the Sublime Porte, on their own behalf as well as on that of their subjects, deputies with "mahzars" (letters) conceived in such terms as should be fixed to serve once for all. In these was to be expressed the acknowledgment of the supreme caliphate of the Mohammedan religion in the person of the Sultan. Turkey bound

* Martens' *Receuil des Traités*, vol ii, p 374.

herself not in any manner, nor under any pretext of spiritual commission or influence, to disturb or offer any constraint to the civil or political power of the khans. Nevertheless, four years had scarcely elapsed after the signing of this supplement to the treaty of Kaynardji, when the Empress of Russia (the infamous Catherine II), under the pretext of avenging an insult committed against the Khan of the Crimea by the governor of the island of Taman, marched an army into the Crimea, and, with unexampled fraud and duplicity, deposed the khan himself, carried him away into Russia, and put an end to his independent sovereignty. In justification of this outrage, she published a manifesto on the 8th of April, 1783,* in which she stated that "her duty to herself and the preservation of the security of her empire equally demanded her taking the firm resolution to put an end, once for all, to the troubles in the Crimea; and for that purpose she annexed to her empire the peninsula of Crimea, the island of Taman, and *all the Kooban*, as a just indemnification for the losses sustained, and the expenses she had been obliged to incur in maintaining the peace and welfare of those territories." †

The annexation of that portion of Circassia called the Kooban, by Russia, was, however, effected only on paper; and by another treaty with Turkey, concluded on the 8th January, 1784,‡ the empress ceded the fort of Soudjak-calessi to the Porte, and renounced her claims to sovereignty over all the Tartar nations between the River Kooban and the Black Sea, which territory is, in fact, Circassia proper. Dr. Lushington's assertion, therefore, that the right of Turkey to Circassia was acknowledged by Russia, in 1783, was unjustifiable and absurd; yet it was the ground taken by the British government for not pressing against Russia the claim for indemnity for the seizure of the Vixen. The ignorance of the

* Martens' *Receuil des Traités*, vol. iv, p 444.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 352. *Convention Expiicatoire entre la Russie et la Porte.* *Annual Register* for 1781.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 707.

sians and the Turks. Strange to say, the traffic in female slaves was a great bond of attraction between them. Baron Von Harthausen, a Prussian *savant*, who visited Circassia in 1843, under the auspices of the Russian government, states* that when he visited the town of Bambor, on the Abkhasian coast, he found in the harbor a Turkish vessel, which had been seized by a Russian man-of-war steamer for smuggling arms to the Circassians, and which had on board several Circassian girls for the slave-market at Constantinople. The Russian commander ordered them to be set at liberty, and offered them their choice, either to be sent back to their homes, or to marry Russians and Cossacks of their free choice, or to go with the Baron to Germany, or to accompany the Turkish captain to Constantinople; but they unanimously, and without a moment's consideration, exclaimed, "To Constantinople, to be sold!" Such a choice will surprise those who value liberty as one of the greatest of blessings, and look upon the public sale of women as infamous; but a better acquaintance with the views, thoughts, and habits of the Circassians will remove much of the unnatural and degraded tone of such a reply.

Every Circassian buys his wife from her father or her family, though the purchaser is obliged, *pro formâ*, to steal her and carry her off furtively, so as to throw a decent appearance over the transaction. On the part of the women, no feeling of shame is attached to it, but rather a sense of honor. A Circassian girl lives in a state of slavish dependence on her father and brothers; her position, therefore, is raised when a man demands her in marriage and stakes his fortune to obtain her, at the same time that he liberates her from the servile constraint of her family. She sees in the purchase-money the test of her own value,—the higher the offer the greater her worth. The purchase of women being the common practice among the Circassian tribes, the slave-dealers to whom they are sold are regarded simply as agents for dis-

* *Transcaucasia*, p. 8.

not, however, be fully understood without a knowledge of their origin and history. Unfortunately, both of these are involved in obscurity; and the inhabitants of the Caucasus are composed of so many distinct tribes, and speak so many different dialects, that the difficulties of the subject are greatly increased. Their religion, too, is a strange mixture of Paganism, Mohammedism, and Christianity, which confirms the belief that the Circassians are themselves a mixture of many races, instead of being a pure one, as they pretend, or as is generally pretended for them. It has even been claimed that they are the original stock whence the dominant races of the world have sprung, and hence the term "Caucasian" as applied to the white race generally. But recent investigations have shown incontestably that we must look farther East for the cradle of mankind, and that the Caucasian tribes are but off-shoots of the great Aryan family of nations, whose original home was Bactria.* Nevertheless, they boast of very great antiquity, and, in the earliest ages, there existed considerable commerce between the inhabitants of the north-eastern coasts of the Black Sea and the Greeks.

About the year 1384 B. C., a people from the East, remarkable for their valor, intelligence, and personal beauty, entered Greece and drove its inhabitants into the inaccessible fastnesses, or expelled them altogether. These people were known as "the Hellenes," but were also called "Æolians" (αἰολοι, brilliant). The description of them is so like that of the Circassians, that there is little doubt that a band of those adventurous Caucasian mountaineers were these same Hellenes, impelled to leave their own land by one of those onward waves of the great Asiatic stock of which no detailed record remains. The Greeks, with their usual conceit, considered themselves descended from mythical eponymous ancestors, related to the gods, and they, therefore, invented

* See article on *The Ancient Inhabitants of Europe and Whence they Came*, with the authorities there cited, in the *National Quarterly Review*, March, 1872.

the legend of Æolus, the son of Hellen, the son of Deucalion and Pyrrha, to account for their own origin; they wished the world to believe that all science, religion, and civilization originated with them. Nevertheless, the myths cited by them frequently give the lie to these conceited pretensions; and any one who reads Homer attentively, or studies the story of the Argonauts, or that of Phrixus and Helle, or of the abduction of Europa, will preceive that the Greeks derived more or less of their civilization from those whom they called "barbarians." The king and the people who received the Argonauts, the Tyrians, the Trojans, and the Phœnicians were all superior in civilization to these adventurers, who almost invariably violated the laws of hospitality by pillaging those who received them so kindly.

The Circassians, or Tcherkess, as they call themselves, anciently inhabited the western regions of the Elburz mountains, bordering on the Euxine. Besides them, were the Abkhases, who occupied the high portions of that mountain-chain. According to the Greek historians, the Hellenes planted two colonies on this coast, viz., the Achaians and the Heniochi, and they founded the cities of Olbia and Tanais, the former commanding the mouths of the Dnieper and the Bog, the latter at the mouth of the Don, whence they exported furs and corn.* They settled Phanagoria, on the mouth of the Kooban, for an emporium for trade with the Black Sea, the Sea of Azof, and the Caucasus.† They also founded Bata and Toricos in the bays of Ghélindjik and Soudjouk-kalé; Dioscourias, in Abkhasia; Phasis, in Colchis; and Panticapæum, in the Tauric Chersonese; and thus the Milesian Greeks acquired supremacy in the Black Sea. But, in connection with this great inland sea, the depths of antiquity conceal from us a mystery which it is difficult to unravel. The local myths relating to the foundation of these colonies almost all go much farther back than the Milesians,

* Strabo, pp. 475-486. † *Ibid.*

and the facts concealed under them are connected with events which can be more or less discerned, though obscured by their fabulous envelope. Thus Strabo makes the Heniochi come of a colony of Laconians, led by Khecas and Amphistratus, the charioteers of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), who accompanied the Argonautic expedition, and settled in Colchis, the colony being named after them Heniochia, from ἡνίοχος, a charioteer.* He also says that the Achaians, on the Circassian coast, were descendants of the Achaians from Phthiotis in Thessaly, followers of Jason, who also settled there.† But, with regard to the latter, Appian says that they were Greeks returning from Troy, who were cast by a tempest on the Colchian coast, where they were cruelly treated by the barbarians who inhabited it. They, however, contrived to send some of their comrades to Greece for assistance; which being refused, they were so enraged that they adopted the Scythian custom of immolating indiscriminately all foreigners who came among them, but they ultimately modified this practice by selecting only the handsomest for death.‡

Montpereux suggests that this settlement of a colony of foreigners on the coast of Circassia may be identical with the passage of the Cimmerians fleeing from the Scythians along the coast, while the latter passed through Dariel or Derbent.§ Driven from their abodes in the Tauric Chersonese and in Asiatic Sarmatia by these fierce hordes, they passed through the Caucasus into Asia Minor, and penetrated as far as Ionia. In the year 635 B. C., they took Sardis from Ardys, King of Lydia, but were subsequently driven out of Asia by his grandson, Alyattes. The suggestion is a plausible one, though the fact, if substantiated, would carry the settlement a century further back than the founding of the Mile-

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* *Ibid*, p. 476. † *Ibid.*

‡ *Ponti Euxini et Maris Erythræi Periplus*, p. 1066, ed 1577, Geneva.

§ *Vorhalle Europaischer Volkergeschichten von Herodotus, um den Kaukasus und an den Gestaden des Pontus*, p. 8.

ian colonies. It is, however, another circumstance in support f the theory, that the Circassians are descended from many ources, instead of being an original people.

Ritter contends that it is evident, from the most ancient ecords of the historians of Greece and Asia Minor, and specially from the fourth book of Herodotus, that colonies f Buddhist priests from India migrated to the banks of the 'hasis, the shores of the Black Sea, Thrace, the Danube, nd Greece, where they exercised a remarkable religious in- luence on the natives. The earliest of the ancient geog- aphers, Scylax, who lived under Darius Hystaspes (B. C. 22), gives us, in his Periplus, a description of the nations n the shores of the Euxine, from the Don to the Phasis. mong them he enumerates the Sintes, occupying the penin- ula of Taman and the coast of the Black Sea as far as napa ; the Cercetes (Circassians) from Anapa to Ghelind- k ; the Achaians from the latter place to the boundary of the eniochi ; then the Heniochi to the Great Dioscourias ; and, stly, the Colchians, extending from the Heniochi to the 'hasis (now the Faz). Orpheus of Crotona, a contemporary f Scylax, also mentions the Sintes and the Cercetes in his oem of "The Argonauts." This is the first time that the ame of the Circassians appears in history. Scylax also peaks of the Coraxians on the Tauric Chersonese ; also of ie Sauromatæ or Sarmatæ, a nation governed by women, on ie banks of the Don, and of the Maëtæ on the shores of the ea of Azof.

Boeck classes the Sarmatæ and the Maëtæ as of Median xtraction,* and the Scythians as Mongolian Tartars. Po- ocki, however, asserts that the latter are Tschudi or Finns.† e this as it may, the Greek colonies on the Black Sea car- ed on an extensive commerce, but those on the eastern coast : it became subject to the kingdom of the Bosphorus, and l direct notices of the Cercetes, the Achaians, and the Heni-

* *Corpus Inscriptionum*, ii, 88. † *Voyage au Caucasus*, p. 20.

ochi cease, until we come to the time of Mithridates the Sixth, King of Pontus (B. C. 120–63). That monarch, pursued by his conqueror, Pompey (B. C. 65), fled from the banks of the Euphrates into Colchis, and passed the winter at Dioscurias. Continuing his route, he attempted what no one had done before; he travelled along the coast of the Circassians, from Dioscurias to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, or Strait of Kaffa, and established himself at Panticapæum (now Kertsch).

Strabo, who wrote B. C. 26, is the first author who mentions the Zyghes, whom he places between the Heniochi and the Achaians, while that of the Cercetes disappears from the locality where Scylax had placed it.* But this apparent alteration is not a change in reality, as Montpereux shows: "When a people having long inhabited a spot changes in neither mind nor character," says he, "it is almost certain that it has its own names which do not change, and which last for ages; foreigners may give them other names, but these will pass away, and none but national names will remain."† Thus the Georgians, who are as ancient as history itself, have never given any other names than those of "Djikhs" and "Djikhethi" to the inhabitants of the coast of Circassia; and it appears that the Tcherkess have never been known by any other collective name than that of "Adighé," which they have given to themselves. The Greek form of this name, Zyghe, will, therefore, have been the true local name which covered the names of Achaians and Heniochi, forged by the Greeks, and of Cercetes (Tcherkess), the local name for a tribe which must have been known to the world through its proximity to the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

With all their efforts, the Romans were able to subdue only the easily accessible portions of Circassia. The natives

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* Strabo *De Situ Orbis*, ubi supra.

† Dès qu'un peuple, resté à la même place, ne change ni d'esprit ni de caractère, il est presque certain qu'il doit avoir ses dénominations à lui qui ne changent pas, et qui percent à travers les siècles; les étrangers leur donnent des sobriquets, mais ils passent, et il n'y a que les noms nationaux qui restent."—Tom. i. p. 66.

were bold and expert robbers and pirates, and made a large profit by stealing captives and holding them for ransom, after the manner of modern Greek and Italian bandits. They had chieftains, and were governed by "skeptoukhes" (sceptre-bearers), who, in their turn, were the deputies or agents of their kings.

A hundred and three years after Strabo, Pliny, writing A. D. 74, mentions new tribes, or, perhaps, old tribes by new names. Thus the Sintes, Zyghes, Heniochi, and Colchians of Strabo disappear, and are replaced by the Toretæ, the Sanighes, and the Apsiles; the Cercetes and the Achaians remain as before.* Arrian visited this region by order of the Emperor Adrian about the year 120, and we find him mentioning none but really national names. The name "Heniochi" had definitively disappeared in his time, and had given place to those of "Sanighes," "Abasci" and "Apsiles;" the Achaians had been superseded by the Zyghes, or Zibkhes, and all that remained to remind the world of them was the name of the old city of Achaia, now Pchade. In Arrian's time they had all submitted to Rome, and the four kings who reigned over them were nominated by the Emperor.† Arrian, however, alludes to Sindica and ancient Achaia.

The next writer of any consequence, who mentions the Caucasian tribes, is Procopius, the secretary of the renowned Belisarius. He gave an account of the relations existing between the people of Abkhasia and the Greek empire under Justinian. There was war between them, and he mentions the "Saghides" as prominent; also, the Zeckhi, Abasghi, and Apsiles; probably Saghides is only a misspelling of "Sanighes," and not another tribe. But Procopius never visited the country, and he made up his narrative from the reports furnished to the government by the imperial officers.‡

There is no trace of history relating to the Circassians

* *Hist. Naturalis.*

† *Ponti Euxini et Maris Erythræi Periplus*, ubi supra.

‡ *War of the Goths.*

during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. It is not until the tenth century that we meet with some notice of them. They then appear in the Book of the Administration of the Empire, written by the son of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, under the two names of Zikhes and Abasghis; and in that record, beyond them, to the east, are placed Papaghia, Kasakhia, and Alania. With the exception of the Alans, all these people are Tcherkess. The Alans are the Ossetes or Oosdees of the present day, the Ass or I-ass of the middle ages; but they call themselves Ir or Iron, and their country Ironistan; they also call the Tcherkess "Kasakh," and the Mingrelians, "Kachak."*

Massondi, the Arabian traveller, writing in A. D. 943,† places the people whom he calls Adem-d'hat or Ademi on the River Kooban; and behind the Alans, between the Caucasus and the Black Sea, he places the Kechek. He describes the latter as of a gentle character, and professing the religion of the Magi; they were remarkable for their fine forms, regular features, and beautiful complexion, and their women were surprisingly beautiful and very voluptuous. They traded with Trebizond, whence they obtained silks, stuffs, and rich dresses. The Alans were unable to subdue them, by reason of their strongholds by the sea, and their great courage. Massondi asserts that if the Kecheh were united under one king, they would be invincible; that the word "Kechek" is Persian, and signifies "proud," "arrogant;" and that in their neighborhood dwelt another people, numerous and warlike, occupying a district called "the Seven Cantons," very difficult of access. The latter were, perhaps, the ancestors of the modern Alti-Kessek, the six families or Tapanta. On account of the personal beauty of the Kechek (the Zykhes of Constantine), they were much sought after as slaves, and a large traffic grew up between them and the wealthy magnates of the Greek empire, in the sale of the children of this people.

* Constant. Porph. *De Amdinistrando Imperio.*

† See translation in Klaproth's *Magasin Asiatique*, p. 258.

We now come to an important era in the history of the Caucasus, which brings the people into connection with Christianity and the Seljukian Turks. In the year 1015 died Vladimir, Grand-Duke of Russia, bequeathing a portion of his southern dominions to his son, Mitislaf. This ambitious youth, at the head of his Russian Slavonians, crossed into the island of Taman, declared war against the Kassoghes, Kechek, or Tcherkess, and vanquished their chief, Rededja. He at the same time subdued the Iass, and founded a principality, annexing them and the Tcherkess to it, fixing his capital at Tmourtakan (the Tamartarka of Constantine, the Materca of the Genoese, and the Taman of the present day). This little state subsisted several centuries under the suzerainty of Russia. But while this change was going on in the northern portion of the Caucasus, another revolution took place in the southern portion.

Abkhasia and Colchis, subjugated in turn by Romans, Greeks, and Persians, suddenly rose and placed their own king on the throne of Georgia. For nearly three centuries they ruled the latter under a succession of able and valiant princes. It seems, however, that the Alans and the Iass, who had formerly been converted to Christianity, had, in the year 931, expelled their bishops and priests. One of the great achievements of the celebrated Georgian queen, Thamar, who reigned at the close of the twelfth century, was the causing of Christianity to be again preached among them, and churches to be built for them. Her influence extended all over the Caucasus, and prevailed among the Circassians, who were at that time idolaters. They yielded to it, and embraced Christianity; But they did not adhere to the latter, and in 1390 the Christian king of Georgia sent an expedition against them to compel them to return to the faith. It appears to have been successful, so far as such means of propagating a religion of peace can be successful; at all events, the expedition brought back with it a vast quantity of trunks of columns and marble fragments of both Christian and Pagan temples, with

which the king built a chapel to the church of Khopé in Mingrelia! He also composed a flaming inscription in honor of his triumph, and put it up over the door of the said chapel. The hollowness of his triumph soon became apparent; for when (in 1424) the king of Georgia divided his dominions among his sons, all the mountain tribes, the Tcherkess, the first among the number, revolted. About two hundred years previously, the Tartars had made themselves masters of the Crimea, and destroyed the principality of Tmantavaken, but some of the Circassian tribes had quitted their mountains and spread over the plains bordering the Sea of Azof; the chief and best-known of these tribes, the Kabardah, settled in the midst of the Tartars, between the Katche and the Belbek, the upper portion of which is still called Kabardah; the plain between the two rivers is also called Tcherkess-Tuss (*i. e.*, plain of the Circassians), and the ruins of the castle of Tcherkess-Kerman, which commanded it, are yet to be seen.*

About the end of the fourteenth century these Kabardians of the Crimea were governed by an Arabian chief, named Abdoun-Khan, and, under his guidance, they quitted the Crimea and crossed the Kooban, establishing themselves south of it, and founding the city of Chantchir, between the Psiff and the Nefil. They were idolaters, and remained under the sway of Abdoun's descendants, displaying their hostility on every occasion to the neighboring Christians of Imeritia, Mingrelia, Abkhasia, and Georgia. In 1509, their prince Inal Tegheun, a man of great abilities, invaded Imeritia and cut to pieces a large number of the Christians who opposed him. The remainder were taken prisoners, but were ransomed by the Patriarch of Abkhasia. Having driven out the Ossetes or Iass, the Kabardian Tcherkess became masters of the banks of the Kooban and the plains of the Kabardah.†

Klaproth mentions a curious tradition respecting them and the Franks (probably Genoese colonists), who had settled in

* Potochi, *Voyage au Caucase*, tom. i, p. 155.

† *Chronique Géorgienne*, pp. 7, 8. Translation by M. Brosset, jeune.

the valleys at the northern foot of the Caucasus, and were living in peace and friendship with the natives.* Their principal settlement was in the valley of Kislavodsk, but they spread beyond the Kooban. One of their leaders fell in love with the wife of the Kabardian chief, and begged him to give her to him. The Kabardian would not listen to the proposal; but his wife, who, perhaps, loved the Frank, or may have wished to serve her country, advised him to give her up to the Frank on condition that the latter should execute the conditions which should be imposed upon him three days after the marriage. He ultimately agreed to this, and at an appointed time the Franks joined the Kabardians in the church opposite Kamara on the Kooban, where their respective chiefs took mutual oaths to observe the conditions; these oaths were renewed before the idols of the Kabardians. When the third day arrived, the chief of the Kabardians declared the condition to be, that the Franks should recross the Kooban; and this they were forced to do, to their great grief. One portion of them retired to the foot of Elburz, where, in time, they forgot both their religion and their origin. This is another piece of evidence that the population of the Caucasus is a mixed one. These Genoese became merged in the native races; but to this day the foregoing tradition is preserved, and the Kabardians say, "We gave our women for this country." Thus the Circassians of the north became possessed of the banks of the Kooban and the plains of the Kabardah; but they were unable to subjugate that branch of the Circassian family called Zyghes (and by themselves Djikhs), who had fortified themselves on the sea-coast.

It may reasonably be inferred that these Kabardian Circassians, who had returned from their long sojourn in the Crimea, had there become mixed with the Tartars, and had acquired many of the habits of those nomad tribes. During the terrible outpouring of the northern barbarians under

* *Voyage au Caucase*, tom. i, p. 347.

Jengheez Khan, Tamerlane, and other remorseless spoilers, they took part with them in the devastation of the Caucasus, Georgia, Armenia, Asia Minor, and Persia. Hence the constant animosity between them and the pure Circassians (the Zyghes, or Djikhs). There was constant warfare between these tribes over the whole extent of their territories. According to George Interiano, a Genoese, who wrote in 1551, the Circassians at that time were masters of upwards of five hundred miles of coast, with dominion over the land lying within five days' journey eastward from the sea. In winter they would cross the ice into the Tauric Chersonese and plunder it. He describes them as being very handsome, and adds that a small number of them could chase a whole army of Tartars, because they were braver, more active, and better armed than the latter.*

There was, moreover, this difference between the Kabardian Tcherkess and the Djikhs: the former were idolaters, while the latter called themselves Christians, and had Greek priests; but they did not baptize their children until the age of eight; and the nobles did not enter a church until after they were sixty, assigning as a reason for this, that, as they all lived by brigandage up to that age, they should profane a church by entering it; but after that age, when they had given up thieving and pillaging, they would attend divine service, which they had only listened to, in their youth, outside of the church and on horseback. The Djikhs were divided into nobles, vassals, serfs, and slaves. The nobles allowed no one but themselves to have horses; they had vassals, but they lived independently of each other, and were very cruel in their families. They practised polygamy, and passed their lives in hunting and brigandage. They were perfectly illiterate, and unable to write; so that they had to rely upon their Greek priests or upon Jews when they wanted a letter written. Their wives passed their time in embroidery.†

* Ramusio, *Raccolta di Viaggi*, tom. ii, pp. 197, 198. † *Ibid.*

In 1555, the Russians, having destroyed the Tartar empires Kazan and Astrakhan, advanced on the eastern flank of e Tcherkess, while the Tartars pressed them on the western. he Tcherkess of Bechetan submitted to the Czar, Ivan Vasliéwitch, and were enrolled in his army, in which they disnguished themselves. Ivan himself married a Tcherkess incess, Maria, the daughter of Temrouk. But the Khan of ıe Crimea, jealous of the influence thus acquired by the Rusans, assembled a large army, and fell upon the Tcherkess, undered their villages, and compelled them to inhabit the anks of the Kooban and to embrace Islamism. There is onsiderable confusion about this portion of their history. ccording to John Potochi,* the Tcherkess dwelt several ears on the Kooban; but when the Russians recommenced ıe war against the Turks and Tartars of the Crimea and of ıe Kooban, they returned, with the help of the Calmucks, to ıeir old habitations in Bechetan. But the Tartars of the ooban incessantly trying to force them back under the domıation of the khans of the Crimea, they at length abandoned echetan, and migrated to the Terek, settling on the Russian ırritory on the banks of the Baksan. But, according to eineggs,† the Kabardians, having become numerous and owerful in the fertile country where they had long lived in eace, began to trouble the Tcherkess, and forced them to void being entirely destroyed, to retire to the Terek, and to ek new abodes further east in the strongholds of the Caucaıs: these they called Aghko-Kabak. Only one Circassian hief was allowed to remain on the left bank of the Terek; his was Dephscharugha, whom the Kabardians respected for is bravery.

Whatever may be the facts, the result of this trouble was quarrel among the Tcherkess themselves, which caused a ivision of that people into two parts. The dispute arose etween their leaders, two brothers; the elder of whom

* Klaproth, *Voyage au Caucase*, tom. i, p. 389 *et seq.*

† *Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, vol. i, p. 244.

remained on the banks of the Baksan, while the younger settled on the Terek, whence came the division of the country into Great and Little Kabardah. The princes and nobles professed themselves Mohammedans; but the people were Christians of the Greek Church, and had churches and priests in their villages. The khans of the Crimea incessantly renewed their efforts to subject the Tcherkess and to withdraw them from the religion and domination of Russia, and the struggle was carried on for more than a century. At last the Tcherkess of Bechetan and the Kabardah, wearied of being subjected to the ravages of the Tartars of the Crimea and the Nogays, engaged to pay an annual tribute of six thousand slaves and as many horses to the Khan of the Crimea and the Prince of the Nogays for protection.*

This tribute only increased the cupidity and the outrages of the Tartars, and the Tcherkess then refused to pay it. Thereupon, in 1705, the Khan of the Crimea, at the head of 100,000 men, marched against them in the mountains of Bechetan. The Tcherkess retreated into the mountains of the Baksan, and pretended to negotiate for terms: having succeeded thereby in throwing the Khan off his guard, they attacked him by moonlight, and cut to pieces nearly the whole of his army. From that time forth the Tcherkess of the Kabardah were free from Tartar domination; but they voluntarily took the oath of allegiance to Russia. As for the Tcherkess of the Elburz mountains and of the coast, their position protected them from the invasions of the Tartars. The latter owned the suzerainty of the Porte; but when the Russians, by the treaty of Kutschuk-Kainardji, in 1774, acquired the two Kabardahs of Kertch, and, in 1781, the Kooban and the Crimea, there remained to the Tartars, or rather to the Turks, who claimed sovereign power over the Natoukhadjis and the Chapsenghes, only the ports of Soudjouk-kalé and Anapa. We have already discussed the results of these and subsequent treaties.

* La Motraye, *Voyages*, vol. ii, p. 54.

From the foregoing outline of the history of the Caucasian bes, the reader will see that they are far from being homoneous either in blood, language, manners, government, or ligion. It is a popular delusion to talk of the pure Circasın race, or of the white races of mankind, being descended ›m the Caucasians; since there is a large admixture of Tar-r, Turkish, Mongolian, Calmuck, Nogay, Median, Armenian, ersian, Georgian, Greek, and Arab blood among them. All at can safely be predicated of them is that the Indo-Geranic, or Aryan, type of man is predominant among them; and eir active, hardy habits and simple fare, persevered in for nerations, have given them robust health and strength, far rpassing that of their neighbors the Turks, the Persians, ıd the Georgians. They have, indeed, by the constant termixture of Circassian women with the wealthy men of ›nstantinople, Shiraz, and Teheran, been instrumental in eventing these nations from degenerating so fast as they herwise would have done.

The existence of a variety of languages in any country is enerally accepted as a proof of the antiquity of the native ıces, and of their having varied in their origin. If this test e applied to the land of the Caucasus, we shall be convinced ıat this interesting portion of the earth's surface has peculiar laims to both antiquity and diversity of origin as regards its ıhabitants. "This country," says Harthausen,* "is inhabed by innumerable races, among whom it is said there exist *ore than seventy original tongues;* frequently a language is poken only in a district composed of a few villages. All the aces who have passed through this country have left memoials behind them; in fact, there exist here monuments of very period of the world's history." He estimates the entire elt of land between the Black Sea and the Caspian at rom 150,000 to 170,000 square miles, with a population of ,500,000, and asserts that "there is no country, of the same xtent, which comprises such a variety of races, differing in

* *Transcaucasia*, p. 15.

origin, physiognomy, character, religion, manners, and dress as this."* In ancient times merchants from more than three hundred nations met and traded in the market at Dioscurias, on the Black Sea. Strabo says that twenty-six languages were spoken in the eastern Caucasus alone, that is, in Albania, where the Lesghians now dwell. The Arabian writers, Ibn-Haukal and Massoudi, mention seventy-two languages, which were said to be spoken in the East, about Derbent, where there must have been a perfect Babel of tongues. Abulfeda calls the mountain of the Albanian gate "*Djebel-il-Alason*," or "the Mountain of Tongues." And at the present day, the tribes comprised under the name of Lesghians, who have a great resemblance to each other in manners and customs, speak thirty different languages.†

Amid all this variety of tongues, it is remarkable that the people speaking one of them can rarely understand the others. Frequently four or five villages have a distinct language wholly unintelligible to any others. But a few of the primitive languages, with their dialects, have a wider range. According to Harthausen there are:‡ 1. The Circassian, a language of the Finnish stem, with thirty-two dialects, spoken by the sixteen Circassian tribes, properly so called, viz., the four Kabardian and the twelve Abadian, numbering in all about 700,000 souls. 2. The Abkhasian, also a primitive language, its connection with any other being quite unknown. The five Abkhasian tribes number 50,000. 3. The Ossetian, which is of Persian derivation, and is spoken by the sixteen Ossetian tribes, numbering 40,000. One would think that there was evidence enough in all this to satisfy any sceptic as to the diversity of the origin of the Caucasian tribes; yet we find Mr. Bell using the following language:§ "The most cursory view, however, of the past and present history of the Caucasian Isthmus leads to the conclusion that the mass of the Caucasian tribes, in comparison with those of the tribes by

* Harthausen, *Tribes of the Caucasus*, p. 14. † *Ibid.*
‡ *Ibid*, pp. 15, 16. § Preface, p. x.

which they are surrounded, *is what may be called aboriginal or indigenous!* Their languages differ materially from those of the Indo-Germanic, Semitic, Mongol, and Slavonic nations, by whom their frontiers have been successively encroached upon. The state of society seems to indicate a people independently engaged in the process of developing home-born laws and institutions, which have contracted a slight coloring at times from the reflected light of more advanced neighbors. And turning to those great tides of national conquest, which alone history in early times attempted to portray—

> "'Fins, Teutons, Mongols, Calmucks, Huns,
> The North's fair and the South's dusk sons,
> Roll'd to the westward from afar,
> In tide-waves of ensanguined war'—

they seem all to have swept past the central mass of the Caucasus, wetting it at most in a transient manner by some chance billow which rose higher than its fellows."

It is a question, however, whether the Circassians and the Turks are not of the same stock, the Scythian, compounded of Finns, Huns, Mongols, Tartars, and Tschudi, crossed with the Aryan races of Persia and Media. The position of their country renders it highly probable that at very remote periods vast tides of migration passed through it, and probably each tide left a small deposit behind; in this manner the extraordinary number and difference of the languages would be accounted for. The subject is a very interesting one, but too extensive to be treated here. Montpereux, in his voluminous treatise on the Caucasus, has accumulated evidence to show that from the origin of history there existed an Asia proper to the north of the Caucasus, and a people called As or Ias, doubtless the ancestors of the Assi or Ossetes of later ages. This Asia exercised astonishing influence on the myths and civilization of the Greeks through the Deucalionidæ and the Dardanidæ. Thence, also, came the myths of the North, of the Asen, which carried into Scandinavia a literature and a religion and manners eminently Indo-Germanic. The Asia of

Prometheus and the Greeks was at the foot of Caucasus, and there we must look for Asaland (the country of Asa) and for the Asgard (the city of As) of the Scandinavians.*

It is time to mention some of the modern developments of the Caucasian character, without doing which our notice of the Circassians would be incomplete. One of the most remarkable of these is Muridism, a species of Mohammedan doctrine, but of a political rather than a religious nature. The originator of it was a humble Moollah, of Jarach, a small village in Daghestan, named Mohammed, a peaceful and venerable man, who nevertheless preached a bloody and relentless war against the unbelievers (the Russians), who, he believed, had acquired undue influence over the Turkish and Persian governments, and were bringing Islamism to degradation. His preaching had the effect he desired: the war of 1825 between Russia and Persia followed, in which Mohammed and his Murids performed prodigies of valor; and after it was over they continued their fanatical attacks on the Russians, gaining several victories over them, but the death of Mohammed at the battle of Ghimry in 1832 cooled their enthusiasm for a time.

Gamzad Beg was chosen Mohammed's successor in the conduct of "the Holy War" against the Infidels. He carried it on chiefly against the Khan of Avaria, but he lacked enthusiasm and ability, and he was assassinated by his brothers in a mosque. On his death, the Murids unanimously nominated the Imaum SCHAMYL their Commander-in-chief. This celebrated man had been the favorite pupil and faithful companion, as well as the most valiant and skilful warrior, of Kazi Moollah, the right-hand disciple of the old Murshed Moollah Mohammed. Schamyl was born in June, 1797, at Ghimry, in Circassia, of a wealthy family. He was endowed with an iron will which nothing could shake. He courted solitude, and devoted himself to the study of the Koran, the Arabian philosophers, the doctrines of Soofiism, and the ancient Per-

* *Voyage autour du Caucase*, tom. iv, pp. 320–408.

sian heroic legends and songs. He was by nature gifted with fiery eloquence and extraordinary military genius. Moreover, he bound himself by a solemn vow to temperance, and forced his father, who was an inebriate, to do the same, on pain of death,—a vow which he compelled the old man to keep until he died, twenty years afterwards.*

The Circassians had entirely embraced Mohammedism half a century before, under the influence of the Turks; but the sects of the Shiites and Soonïites caused division and weakness among them. To heal this and unite them against their common foe, the doctrines of Muridism were advocated, as has been before stated, by Moollah Mohammed and Kazi Moollah, and were eloquently and zealously acted upon by Schamyl, who, by his extraordinary exploits against the Russians and his hair-breadth escapes from death, excited the wonder and enthusiasm of the Circassians. Having been elected Imaum (on 2d Oct., 1834), he at once attacked and defeated the Russian general Lasskoi, who had taken his native village, Ghimry. For three years he carried on a guerrilla war against the Russians with a genius and energy scarcely paralleled in history. He then apparently submitted to them, and induced the Russian general Fosi to evacuate the country. By this stratagem Schamyl raised his influence to the highest pitch. From 1839 to 1843 the Russians made prodigious efforts to conquer the country, but were greatly embarrassed by his exploits, some of which border on the marvellous; in fact, he inflicted severe losses on the enemy, so much so, indeed, that they became disheartened, and they ceased to prosecute the war effectually. The Russians endeavored to cut off all supplies from the heroic mountaineers and thus starve them out; but though they pursued this system for several years, it was not attended with success.

In 1845, Prince Waronzoff, one of the most distinguished

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* These particulars of Schamyl and the Murids are taken from Harthausen's *Tribes of the Caucasus*, and from L. Collas' memoir of Schamyl in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*.

of the Russian officers, assumed the command of the Imperial forces engaged in the Caucasian war. He began by opening friendly intercourse with the chiefs of the Western Circassians, making them rich presents and winning their confidence; he also prudently overlooked a few predatory excursions and allowed the sale of children to the Turks. By this policy he almost pacified them. Meanwhile he hemmed Schamyl in by a line of fortified posts and by cutting roads through the mountains and the forests, occupying all the important points permanently. This strategy was ultimately successful. In December, 1859, Schamyl was surprised on the plateau of Gounib by a superior force. He defended himself furiously for a long time; of the 400 men, who were with him, only 47 survived. Driven back into a house cut in a rock, the Imaum at length surrendered to Prince Bariatinsky, who promised him his life, and sent him prisoner to St. Petersburg. The Emperor Alexander treated him with generosity. In an interview which he had with him, he desired him to retain his weapons, and assigned him a residence in the city of Kalonga, with a pension of 10,000 rubles. Thither, accordingly, he removed with his harem, and with the households of his two sons, and passed the remainder of his life in tranquil resignation to his lot, in the observance of the strictest simplicity and sobriety, and in the exercise of inexhaustible charity.

He had inaugurated a series of political changes among his countrymen, in the administration of public affairs, and in the apportionment of lands and offices. These judicious reforms enabled him to support the contest with the Russians for twenty-five years; but he failed in his attempts to introduce certain arts and manufactures. His people were not sufficiently advanced in intelligence or education to learn how to cast cannon and fabricate rifles, which was what he chiefly aimed at. They had never progressed far in civilization, nor during the whole of their history had they manifested any desire or aptitude for it. Their nobles prided them-

elves on their ignorance, and the people preferred the life of bandit or pirate to that of an artisan or trader. Under the ron hand of Russia, however, they will no longer be permitted to plunder their neighbors, and, perhaps, when they hall have been repressed a sufficient length of time to make hem forget their old habits, they will turn their attention to he arts of peace, and become respectable citizens, releasing heir women from seclusion, and raising them to their proper phere. They are better off under the Russians than they ould have been under their own semi-barbarous government.

ART. VIII.—*Biographical Sketches in the Newspapers and elsewhere.*

TIME and death, says Seneca, are the most faithful vindicators of gifted men. There is a volume of truth and philosophy mbraced in this quaint remark. The most careless reader of istory needs but a slight exercise of his memory in order to ecall a hundred illustrations of it. It is a strange but undeiiable fact that, in nine cases out of ten, it is those who have ontributed most to human progress that have been most eviled. Most of this class have not been merely misrepreented and abused; often, when most active in doing good, heir lives have been embittered by persecution. Sometimes othing less than the blood of their benefactors has satisfied he thougthless multitude, rendered ferocious by selfish demaogues.

This is a sad commentary on human nature; but, happily, he picture has its bright side. Frequently, those who have een most reviled and persecuted in life have been most honred in death. Sometimes the same generation that have xecuted them like common felons have erected magnificent nonuments to their memory. At first sight this seems a useess whim, since the voice of approbation comes too late to the

ear closed in death. Still, it is not merely a redeeming quality; it does not merely show a disposition in humanity to make all the amends in its power for its errors, for it consoles the victim while he is suffering most and doing most good. Many a bitter pang has been softened—many a briny tear wiped away—by the reflection that the day would come when truth and justice would prevail, and make honor and fame take the place of defamation and opprobrium.

We are in no hurry to show how much the life and labors of Mr. James Gordon Bennett serve to illustrate these views. The daily press, for whose development he has done more than any other man, living or dead, has told his story, and told it eloquently and well; and, to their honor be it recorded, it is his chief and ablest rivals—those journals opposed to him most persistently and most zealously, from the first day they were issued until the day of his death, which, now that he can no longer speak for himself, have done him most ample justice.

To us there is nothing new in the highest tributes which the death of Mr. Bennett has elicited from his contemporaries. They ascribe to him no better qualities or more brilliant talents than we knew him to possess twenty years ago, when the habit of reviling him was most prevalent. This, however, is the first time that we have written one line for publication relative to Mr. Bennett's character. Feeling, like himself, that time would vindicate him—that, indeed, he required no other arguments in his favor than the fruits of his labors, as they reveal themselves in a thousand forms in every channel of American industry and enterprise—we have always confined ourselves to a passing remark in conversation, such as we would take the liberty of making, in the language of civility, for the purpose of removing any other erroneous and unjust impression.

Even now, when Mr. Bennett's most intelligent and ablest contemporaries have so nobly acquitted themselves, not a few that are neither intelligent nor able would sneer at the assertion that several of the Greek philosophers rendered their

we do that of Socrates. But, when we come to the question, Did the ancient philosopher contribute more to the enlightenment and material well-being of his fellow-citizens, during his life, than the modern editor has? we do not hesitate to answer, No; and still less do we hesitate as to the relative amount of intellectual and material progress produced by Diogenes and Mr. Bennett. We maintain that that for which credit must be given to the latter is vastly greater.

Anaxagoras, also, is justly celebrated for what he taught the Athenians. There is no doubt but he enabled them to rid themselves of many degrading superstitions; but, had he lived in our time, all that he accomplished, or was capable of accomplishing, would hardly have been sufficient to distinguish him from the crowd of intelligent readers who devote their leisure hours partly to literature and partly to science and the arts. Pythagoras, we are informed, travelled into various countries in search of knowledge, and, no doubt, he brought back with him, especially from Egypt, a considerable amount of it. But it is a fact as capable of demonstration as any proposition in Euclid, that the corps of reporters and correspondents organized by Mr. Bennett, and sent to all parts of the world—corps including men not merely liberally educated, but more or less eminent in literature, science, and the arts—have collected more information, and made a larger addition to the general stock of knowledge, in one year, than Pythagoras did in all his wanderings.

Let those who regard this comparison as unduly favorable to the prince of journalists look for a moment to their own time, without reference to Greek or Roman. For several centuries the institution which has most distinguished itself for its laudable zeal in the pursuit of knowledge is the French Academy of Sciences. Modern civilization is vastly indebted to this learned body for the expiditions it has sent to all parts of the world in search of knowledge, for the good it has accomplished by these means alone is incalculable. Next to this among the great institutions of its kind in Europe, is

the British Association for the Advancement of Science. To this body also the world is greatly indebted for what it has contributed to the enlightment of mankind. Now, will it be believed that the investigators and correspondents of the Herald in every clime, wherever important information is to be obtained, have done more to enlighten the world during the last decade than those two great institutions combined, encouraged, as each is, by the substantial aid of a government distinguished for its public spirit and liberality? There are, indeed, many who will not believe it, because this is one of those instances in which the facts seem stranger than the wildest romance. Is not this true, for example, of the Herald's expedition in search of Dr. Livingstone, and of the results already accomplished by that expedition?

Let us revert once more to the ancient philosophers, who are justly venerated as instructors of mankind. Their chief biographer* boasts that Alexander stopped while passing through Athens, to speak to Diogenes in his tub, and that the philosopher did not consider himself at all honored by the condescension of the conqueror, but was rather uncivil to him. Upon the other hand, he informs us that the frown of Pericles, though only an imaginary frown, was sufficient to induce Anaxagoras to cover his head with his mantle, and lie down on the road-side to die. Need we inform our readers that the greatest kings and emperors of his time were very willing to be influenced by Mr. Bennett? The haughtiest of them would gladly have secured his good-will by obliging him in any way in their power. President Lincoln had the sagacity to understand this, and offered to appoint Mr. Bennett minister to France. The president's messenger was his secretary of state. Mr. Seward thought he could order Mr. Bennett to call on him at the Astor House, as he could one of his political satellites. The editor made no rude reply, but sent word that he was busy at his office, and that he should have to trouble Mr. Seward to see him there if he

* Diogenes Laertes.

wanted him. When, finally, the wish of Mr. Lincoln was made known to him, he thanked the president for the honor he conferred on him by the offer, but begged leave to decline it, because its acceptance would necessarily withdraw him from his editorial duties. This was a very different course from that of either Diogenes or Anaxagoras. Mr. Bennett was neither arrogant and defiant like the one, nor subservient and self-humiliating like the other.

Feeling that he really wielded more power himself than the greatest sovereigns, he treated the most powerful in no other way than as a well-bred gentlemen would treat his equals. As for the politicians, no one despised them more than he. This most of them knew. Accordingly, they left no species of toadyism untried, in their hope of gaining his good-will; but they thought themselves fortunate if, by their anxious efforts in this direction, they could dissuade him from exposing their charlatanism, ignorance, and imbecility to public derision.

Since Mr. Bennett wished for no power but that of an an editor, it is not strange, as it has seemed to many, that there are none that he treated with more courtesy or consideration than the writers in his employment. Nor was he merely polite to those whom he found possessed of ability and worth; he was as kind and indulgent to them as a father, and never ceased, to the day of his death, to be their friend.

We have dared to compare Mr. Bennett to kings and emperors, as well as to philosophers, in this article; but what more noble or more princely act could king or emperor do than to continue, to those grown old in his service so as to be no longer able to work, the liberal salary he paid them in the full vigor of their intellect, when their services were most valuable? He had several such pensioners to the day he died; nor is it they alone, and their families, who, as the grave closes over him, may well weep for a benefactor, who, far from displaying his generosity, carefully concealed it as something too sacred for the cold, selfish eye of the world.

We have omitted to give any details of Mr. Bennett's life, because, as already remarked, the daily papers have left nothing to be desired in that respect. We will, however, extract a passage or two from a very excellent sketch in the Daily Times of June 2:—

"Fired by a great idea, he returned to New York, and urged upon Gen. Webb, the proprietor of the Inquirer, the policy of uniting it with the Courier, which he advanced with so much force that the measure was actually carried. These were the palmy days of that paper. Its circulation was considered enormous. Men of the Tammany Society, which it represented, boasted, over their Santa Cruz, that it printed thirty-five hundred copies daily; and its advertising amounted to $55 a day on the average all the year round. From 1829 to 1832, Bennett remained with the paper, hobnobbing with senators, and on the friendliest terms with Van Buren. The idea has crept into some heads that Bennett was no writer, but only a brilliant manager of journalism. This is a great mistake. During these three years, article after after article, brilliant and witty, poured from his pen; and he was accepted as one of the bright particular stars of what was called journalism in those days; nay, more, he caused the great prosperity of the Courier and Inquirer. The literary analyst who shall dissect those old mildewed files will find, without a doubt, that Bennett was at the bottom of their huge circulation. When Gen. Webb resolved to desert Gen. Jackson, and to espouse the cause of Nicholas Biddle, this man with a full heart again threw up his bread and butter, because he would not write against his convictions. Bennett, perhaps, had some hopes that his senatorial friends would assist him; so, in 1832, at the age of thirty-five, he started the Globe, a paper devoted to the interests of Gen. Jackson and Martin Van Buren, though his experience of politicians might have taught him differently. Still, that he did not intend his paper to be altogether the slave of party is proved by his introductory editorial, in which he wrote: 'If I make up my mind to establish a paper, I wish you to understand that I shall ask no man the liberty of doing so. Offering to aid the party and establishing a paper are not one and the same thing. If I see fit, I am at liberty to start a paper on my own responsibility, and leave the party to judge for themselves what confidence to give it." These were brave words; but they met a cool reception. The party put no confidence in the Globe, and it died after thirty issues. The paper of the future only gradually shaped itself in Bennett's mind. * * * John Mumford, he knew, had been helped by the leaders to the

amount of $40,000, and they refused him, a man who had done ten times as much for them, a paltry $2,500. It was gall and wormwood. He wrote to a friend in the following year: "I am sorry to speak harshly of any one; but, really, I think there is something like ingratitude in the way that I have been treated." But this was enough. His education as a journalist had now been completed. He had cut loose from party dicipline, and he resolved to cut loose from party altogether. And now, at last, in his teeming brain the paper of the future began to assume shape and coherence. He resolved to make a paper that should have no master but the public, and should stand by public favor alone. So he returned to New York in the winter of 1834, after battling with his Pennsylvanian for nearly two years, and expending every cent he had in the world.

"On the 6th of May, 1835, Bennett, with the aid of two young printers, published the first number of the morning Herald, price one cent. It was written, published, and sold in a cellar in Wall street, whose sole furniture was a counter which served as a desk, consisting of a plank stretched across two flour-barrels. There was a chair in the centre, in which sat Mr. Bennett, now thirty-eight years of age, writing busily and selling newspapers, taking advertisements, and even writing them for advertisers who had not the faculty of composition. But, in that dingy cellar, and behind the chair of that sturdy battler with the world, stood Success, invisible to the common herd, who had neither eyes to see her radiant form, nor ears to hear the musical rustling of her wings. The paper was not much larger than a sheet of letter-paper; but it gave much light, minute, and cheerful news. It was full of short paragraphs, printed in small type, and was an eminently salable article. It sold well from the first day; but still Bennett had at first a terrible time. The extreme cheapness of the paper rendered him absolutely dependent upon his advertisers; and yet he dared not charge them more than fifty cents for a square of sixteen lines. So he had to cut down the expenses to a minimum. He did everything himself;—he swept out his cellar; he carried the paper to the few subscribers it possessed, in the morning; he wrote the editorials, the news, the criticisms; he did the reporting and the book-keeping—all, in fact, that was done. He sat behind his barrels and his plank, placidly writing; and when any one came for a paper, he never looked up, but just said, 'Put the money on the counter, and take one.' His working day was sixteen hours. In the morning, from five to eight, he wrote editorials in his bed-room. During the business hours he was in the cellar, engaged in ordinary routine of editorial work. About one

o'clock, having provided abundant copy for the compositors, he sallied forth into Wall street to compile stock-tables, and to get matter for spicy paragraphs. From four to six he was at his office again, winding up the business of the day. In the evening he was abroad—at the theatres or concert, ball or public meeting, which were faithfully written up, and handed to the printers before he went to bed. He thus, like Atlas, bore the whole weight of his world upon his own brave shoulders."

We have but a remark or two to make on this interesting narrative. The Times is undoubtedly right in contradicting the representation "that Mr. Bennett was no writer, but only a brilliant manager of journalism." We have never known an editor in Europe or America that could write a humorous, pungent, suggestive leader, sure to be read let it appear where it might, so fast as Mr. Bennett. Nor have we known any editor that possessed, in a higher degree, the faculty of turning rapidly from the discussion of one subject to that of another. But the reason why the erroneous opinion above alluded to was entertained by any one is this: Mr. Bennett had a wonderful talent for imbuing the minds of his assistants with his own thoughts. For many years before he retired from the active management of the Herald it was his daily habit to call, in turn, into his private office, such writers as he thought most competent to treat the subjects which current events happened to suggest. In five minutes, at farthest, the writer was impressed with everything Mr. Bennett wished said, and at once retired to make room for another, who underwent a similar process, etc. Finally, he sat down himself, where no one saw him, penned an article or two, put his manuscript into the "copy-box," took his cane, and retired as quietly as he entered. Thus it was that the idea of his being no writer "crept into some heads," as the Times says; but they must have been stupid, thoughtless heads. We have now before us several of Mr. Bennett's articles, written at different periods. Each is as characteristic of its author as anything Jonathan Swift or Sydney Smith has written; but nothing will more appropriately fill the limited space we have

now left for an extract than the following passage from the first article, or one of the first, that ever appeared in the Herald :—

"In debates of this kind many talk of principle—political principle, party principle—as a sort of steel trap to catch the public. We mean to be perfectly understood on this point, and therefore openly disclaim all steel traps—all principle, as it is called, all party, all politics. Our only guide shall be good, sound, practical common sense, applicable to the business and bosoms of men engaged in every-day life. We shall support no party, be the organ of no faction or coterie, and care nothing for any election or any candidate, from president down to constable. We shall endeavor to record facts, on every public and proper subject, stripped of verbiage and coloring, with comments, when suitable, just, independent, fearless, and good-tempered. If the HERALD wants the mere expansion which many journals possess, we shall try to make it up in industry, good taste, brevity, variety, point, piquancy, and cheapness. It is equally intended for the great masses of the community—the merchant, mechanic, working people; the private family, as well as the public hotel, the journeyman and his employer, the clerk and his principal. There are in this city at least one hundred and fifty thousand persons who glance over one or more newspapers every day. Only forty-two thousand daily sheets are issued to supply them. We have plenty of room, therefore, without jostling neighbors, rivals, or friends, to pick up at least twenty or thirty thousand for the HERALD, and leave something for others who come after us."

This, be it remembered, was written thirty-seven years ago. What revolutions have since been produced in journalism! And what individual in Europe or America has contributed so much to those revolutions as Mr. Bennett? Nay, has he not been the originator, the soul, and the life of the greatest of them?

And here we are reminded of his profound, unwavering faith in the energy, enterprise, and perseverance of the American people. Although this sentiment pervades all his writings, extending over a period for nearly half a century, and is sometimes abundantly conspicuous, no one who has not had opportunities of hearing him express his views in private can form any adequate idea how much it became a veritable pas-

sion with him. Of what New York, especially, was destined to become, as compared to the greatest cities of ancient and modern times, in wealth, resources, population, extent, beauty, and general attractiveness, he often spoke in language which, to those of a cold and gloomy nature and narrow mind, seemed to border on Oriental hyperbole. More than once we have heard his calm, thoughtful predictions in this respect compared by intelligent men to the stories of the Genii in the Arabian Nights. But the most skeptical have lived to see some of the boldest of those predictions literally fulfilled; while some of those that seemed impracticable, or utterly impossible, are already not only regarded as entirely feasible, but are rapidly progressing to fulfilment.

Referring again to antiquity reminds us that several who have sketched Mr. Bennett's life and character have represented him as having quite a horror of quotations from the classic languages. This is true only in a certain sense. He had, indeed, no patience with the use of such quotations by those who knew nothing about them; for no one knew better than he that there are many utterly ignorant both of Greek and Latin who are quite fond of quoting these languages, especially the latter, because there are few large dictionaries of the vernacular tongue which do not contain a goodly variety of classic phrases. But to those ignorant of the principles of the languages to which they belong, these are like "edged tools" in the hands of children. Instead of making those who use them appear learned, as they think, they frequently expose them to the ridicule of every reader who has taken the trouble to study. Mr. Bennett had far too much pride to allow his assistants to render themselves ridiculous before the world, and, accordingly, he made no scruple of quietly drawing his pen across quotations which reminded him of nothing more forcibly than a garment worn up-side-down by one to whom the style of such garments is at once a novelty and a mystery. It was very natural that the ambitious gentleman who found his fine quotations set aside in this summary

manner should come to the conclusion that the weak point in Mr. Bennett's editorial abilities was his lack of taste for Greek and Latin; and it was equally natural that those who never cared to quote or learn either language—regarding both as useles fossils—should quote Mr. Bennett's alleged dislike of them as one of the strongest evidences of his skill and sagacity as an editor.

The truth is, however, that no one admired an apposite quotation from either of the classic languages, but especially from the Latin, more than Mr. Bennett. Those who have known him most intimately could not assert that he ever suppressed such, or even discouraged their occasional use. He had too much understanding to affect to despise what was a regular habit with writers so popular as Addison, Steele, Swift, Sydney Smith, Goldsmith, Sir Walter Scott, etc. But Mr. Bennett had the sagacity to require not only that the quotation was apposite, but also that the full meaning of it was given directly or indirectly. "This," he was wont to say, "makes it like a condiment, which those having a taste for it may enjoy as a luxury, while those ignorant of its virtues may pass it over, or be content with its aroma."

We could adduce abundant evidence of these facts from the columns of the Herald; we could show, moreover, by the same means, that not content with entertaining those views himself, he fully impressed them on his successor. Young Mr. Bennett has no pretension to be such a writer as his father; at the same time it is undeniable that he inherits some of the old gentleman's best qualities and talents. In illustration of this, we need only say that the son, like the father, possesses the faculty of giving a striking outline in a few words of what he wishes an article should be, even to its tone; and that the views of the son, in regard to classic precepts, whether used as ornaments or authorities, are identical with those of the father. More than this we abstain from saying of the living, further than to remind our readers that Eugène Sue, Tobias Smollett, and James Fenimore Cooper have

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

HISTORY.

Our English Bible and its Ancestors. By THREADWELL WALDEN, Rector of St. Paul's Cathedral, Indianapolis. 16mo, pp. 231. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

THERE is a good deal of information in this little volume in regard to versions of the Bible, but it by no means exhausts the subject. While heartily recommending it as calculated to remove many erroneous and unjust impressions, written as it is in a candid and liberal, non-sectarian spirit, we will add some facts which are but rarely remembered at the present day, even by educated men; nay, even by those who regard it as their mission to expound the Scriptures.

We suppose we need hardly say that we do not take these pains for the purpose of advocating or opposing the views of any sect as such, for there is no consummation we have more earnestly sought for the last twenty years—in other journals as well as in our own—than the reconciliation of all Christian sects with each other in one friendly brotherhood. Partly because the Catholic church is the parent of all, but chiefly because it had accomplished so much good during the long centuries before any of the Protestant sects came into existence, we have had no disposition to deal harshly even with her faults. That, at least, we have been entirely willing to do her justice, none but the most narrow-minded bigots, or those blinded by their prejudices, will deny.

We never expected, or indeed wished, to please this class. Having always regarded it as very much like the untamable quadruped, which, the more kindly it is treated the more it growls and tries to bite, we should have suspected something miraculous if we had not been subjected to more or less abuse whenever we ventured to deny that its geese are swans. But whether the vituperation bestowed on us be "reverend," "*very* reverend," "right reverend," or "most reverend," we can assure all concerned that no amount of it will force us to regard as "pillars of the church" those who are much more suggestive to us of the rats which burrow in its ancient and venerable walls, and grow fat and sleek on the contents of its cemeteries.

When we speak of the hierarchy of the Catholic church as having never ceased for so long a series of centuries—even when it erred most—to do incalculable good for the human race, we do not include in our estimate speculators in real estate, bankers who depend chiefly for their "interest" on the earnings of the Irish chambermaids, or

those equally thrifty who are always ready to levy taxes on the living and the dead. Whether divines of this class belong to the State of Ohio or the State of New York, if alluded to at all by us as belonging to the Catholic hierarchy, it is only in the parasitical relation already indicated. If this occasionally puts them in a pious, or rather impious rage, causing them to speak and act more like fishmongers than ministers of the gospel, we are sorry for them, although we confess we are much more amused than annoyed at the grimaces and gesticulations with which they mean to annihilate us. When we commend the Catholic hierarchy for the good it has done and is doing, we commend the enlightened, liberal, and good ecclesiastics of all grades belonging to that church; and should it be our lot to survive those of them who are living, our heartiest tributes to their superior worth shall be paid, when even the most mendacious of the opposite class cannot accuse us of flattery.

With these few remarks as an introduction, we proceed to show how much a large class of Protestants stultify themselves by persistently representing that the Catholic church has always been opposed to the rendering of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue. Although the author of the little book before us does not say so, or mean to convey any such impression, there is nothing which he proves more fully to those capable of looking beyond the surface of things, or of merely comparing facts with each other, than that, instead of the Catholic ecclesiastics having always tried to keep the Bible sealed up in a dead language, they were the first to commence even those English translations upon which our so-called "Authorized Version," or "King James's Bible," is based.

It is forgotten that even Wyckliffe was a priest; and Islep, archbishop of Canterbury, liked him so well, both as a theologian and scholar, that he appointed him director of Baliol College, Oxford. The archbishop, who was himself a scholar and a man of enlarged views, was so well pleased with the manner in which Wyckliffe performed his duties, that four years later (1365) he made him director of a seminary which he had just founded, called Canterbury College. In this position, also, Wyckliffe gave his patron ample satisfaction. But learned and enlightened archbishops die, and they are sometimes succeeded by those who are neither learned nor enlightened. It was so in this case. Simon Langham, the successor of Islep, was weak-minded and superstitious, and one of his first archiepiscopal acts was to remove Wyckliffe from the directorship of the college, on the ground that his teachings were not orthodox. Wyckliffe appealed to the Pope, Urban V., but his Holiness was induced to confirm the sentence of the archbishop. Then it was that

Wyckliffe attacked both the pope and the archbishop, and soon made both regret that they had meddled with the head of Canterbury College. These facts we do not take from the volume before us; they are given from the best authorities.* As for Wyckliffe's translation of the Bible, there is no fact of the time more fully attested than that he had commenced it in compliance with the wish of Archbishop Islep.

We are informed in the volume before us that the first English translation from the Greek was by William Tyndall. But who was William Tyndall? Let the Rev. Mr. Walden tell us. "To find Tyndall," he says, "we must go back to the year 1477, when he was born, in an obscure village at Gloucestershire. He was brought up from a child at Oxford, and became a priest and a Franciscan friar" (p. 63).

But there had been several translations made in England before Tyndall's time. The Saxon monk Cædmon (680) from whom Milton is said to have taken the basis of his great epic, translated a part, if not the whole, of the Bible into Saxon. The Venerable Bede, another monk, made a complete translation of the Bible, and we could mention several other British and Irish ecclesiastics who had translated portions, if not the whole, of the Scriptures long before Wyckliffe was born.

After many translations had been thus made, it was found that the Greek text had become corrupt. This discovery is said to have been made by Cardinal Wolsey, who pointed out the proof of it to Erasmus, then professor of Greek at Cambridge. Erasmus immediately assumed the task of revising and amending the text; and the result is thus stated in the volume before us (p. 53): "It was Erasmus who became the founder of the New Testament in printed Greek." Nor did he mean that none but those acquainted with the language of Aristotle should be able to read the Scriptures. "I long," he says, writing to his friends Sir Thomas More and Dean Colet, "that the husbandman sing portions of them (the Scriptures) to himself as he follows the plough, that the weaver should hum them to the time of his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile with their stories the tedium of his journey."† But who was Erasmus? Another priest and monk, and one whom neither Henry VIII nor any other Protestant prince could induce to withdraw from the old church. ‡

Nor was it alone the priests and monks of England and Germany who were busy at this time in revising and translating the Bible. Even those of Spain were equally active in the same cause. Cardi-

* See "Lives of Wicliffe and of his Disciples," by Gilpin. London, 1765. "Wicliffe et sa reforme." Par M. Jæger. Halle, 1854, etc. † *Paraclesis.*

‡ *Vide* Art. "Erasmus and his Influence," N. Q. R. for March, 1870, No. XL.

nal Ximenes had been at work on the Bible before Erasmus. First the cardinal founded the University of Alcalá de Henares. No sooner is this great institution made available for scholars than he commences the translation of the Bible; and in due time his celebrated "Complutensian Polyglot" was completed at his own expense. "Strictly speaking," says the Rev. Mr. Walden, "part of the cardinal's New Testament was in print before Erasmus's text went to press" (p. 58). But Mr. Walden forgets to inform his readers that both Ximenes and Erasmus were in advance in this respect of Luther, who had also been a monk, and the pupil from youth only of monks and priests. The Bible of Ximenes was printed complete in 1517, whereas that of Luther was not printed until 1534, seventeen years later. But as Wyckliffe was protected and advanced by one archbishop, and opposed and persecuted by another, as we have seen, so was Ximenes. The former, however, was merely deprived of his income from the church, whereas, the latter was imprisoned for six years in the dungeons of San-Torcas. Archbishop Alonzo Carilla, who persecuted Ximenes, was a person of exactly the same calibre as Archbishop Simon Langham who persecuted Wyckliffe. The misfortune of the latter was that he did not live long enough to see another enlightened prelate like Islep in Langham's place.

In short, long before Luther was born the Bible had been translated by ecclesiastics into Italian, Spanish, French, German, English, Saxon, Dutch, Sclavonian, Bohemian, etc. Nay, so early as the third century (200–300 A.D.) there was a Coptic translation; half a century later an Ethiopic translation. The Gothic version of Ulphilas, also a priest, was made about the middle of the fourth century (360 A.D.). The Latin Vulgate was commenced by St. Jerome in 385, and completed in 404. It was called "the Vulgate," because the Latin was then used as the vernacular in all the principal nations of Europe. Here is a translation made more than fourteen centuries ago, and, taking it in all its characteristics, it has never been equalled since, much less surpassed.

How absurd it is, then, to persist in the statement that the Bible was a sealed book before the Reformation! We expose the absurdity in the same spirit as we would any other of equal importance, because, let injustice and misrepresentation come whence they may, we are opposed to them. In a word, it is idle to deny that the Protestants are vastly indebted to the Catholics even in regard to the Bible. At the same time there is much which the latter might learn to their profit from the former. Thus, for example, the most ignorant and bigoted of the Protestants do not regard the bad grammar of the

highest of their ecclesiastical dignitaries as the Hindoos regard the holy Gates of Somnauth, whose flaws, however unsightly they are, it is impious even to hint at. To this we have only space to add that bigots of all sects may learn a useful lesson in Christian charity from the perusal of the unpretending little volume which has suggested these remarks.

Speeches and Resolutions, Marches and Counter-marches, in favor of "Strikes."

SCARCELY any subject is less understood than "the rights of labor," especially by those who have to depend on those rights for their daily bread. It is natural enough they should think that the less of their time they occupy for their employer each day, for a certain amount, the better they are off. Nothing is clearer to them than that those who give them five dollars for eight hours' labor promote their interests, and are more their friends than those who give them the same amount for ten or twelve hours.

As one error produces another, so in this case the working-man, whether a common laborer or a mechanic, likes or dislikes those who employ labor according as they are favorable or unfavorable to his pet theory, and he judges the clergyman, the editor, and the politician, in the habit of discussing the subject, by the same test. This is so well understood that all wishing to be "popular" readily accept the theory, "little work and much pay," as sound and righteous, especially if they are ambitious to become public functionaries, and, therefore, want votes. No doubt some who encourage the working-man to do as little, and exact as much for that little as he can, honestly think they are for his good. But there are very few of this class among the intelligent, and the best that can be said of them is that they are blind leaders of the blind.

For the same reason nothing is more offensive to the "striker" than to be told that those who refuse to comply with his demands are really more his friends than those who say at once, "Certainly; your claims are just, and they shall be granted." As for saying that those who openly persist in refusing, and call on their neighbors to do the same, are friends, or anything better than mortal enemies,

it would be a rash proceeding, as not a few could testify to-day from recent personal experience. If any of our readers differ from our views, we shall only ask them to exercise their memory a little, assuming that they paid some attention to the present "strikes," their causes and results. They need only bear in mind the conduct of the employers alone. Is it not true that it is those that confessedly have always been most liberal and most kind to their working-men, who have proved least disposed to comply with their demands? But we have a stronger illustration than even this of the principle we maintain. It requires but little research and discrimination to ascertain that it is those who best understand the value of labor, those who have contributed at least as much as any of their fellow-citizens to bring skilled labor to perfection, and elevate it to the dignity of a science, that have evinced least willingness to allow the "strikers" to have their own way. This is true, for example, of the Steinways. It is precisely because they understand the philosophy of labor in all its relations that they have attained eminence, and princely wealth at the same time, by the superiority of their instruments, thus placing themselves in the first rank among the great manufacturers of the world.

But why is it not better for the working-man to get five dollars for eight hours' work than to get the same amount for ten or twelve hours' work? It doubtless would be better for some individuals, but for the large majority it would be the reverse, although there is nothing which this large majority are more unwilling to believe—nothing which they deem more absurd. Supposing the provision-dealer says to Pat or Franz, "I will give you five dollars for eight hours' work in future, the same as I used to give you formerly for ten or twelve hours' work; but mind that for the same amount of flour, corn, potatoes, and vegetables, I formerly charged you five dollars, I shall in future have to charge you seven dollars, and perhaps more." Let us suppose the coal-dealer, the butcher, the tailor, and the dry-goods-man hold similar language; but if they do not, the same causes produce in their case the same results, but slightly modified, which they produce in the case of the provision-dealer. There is no more obvious principle in political economy than that if a furniture-dealer has to pay twenty per cent. more for a set of chairs than he has been in the habit of paying, he must raise the price of the set in the same ratio, and his customer must either pay the increased amount, be content with an inferior set, or do without any until prices are down again. If the architect is called upon to build a house, of course he has to increase his estimate in proportion as the price of labor is increased. If the party requiring the house is unable or unwilling to

pay the incresed rate, the work has to be postponed, or an inferior house is built, which is nearly if not quite as bad.

But, apart from all this, the importance and value of productive labor are to be taken into account; it must be remembered that as days make years, so do hours make days. Let us suppose that the number of working-days in the year is three hundred, and that the laborer works twelve hours a day. To diminish this to eight hours is to reduce the time of labor one-third; so that the working-year would be only two hundred days instead of three hundred; that is, one hundred holidays would be added to the ordinary number! Would the laborer be the better in his pocket or his health for this? Nay, who can doubt that he would be the worse for it? His family would be the worse—the nation at large would be the worse.

But, unfortunately, those who are prone to "striking" cannot see even the suffering they bring on themselves and on their families, but seem rather to exult in it. This seems unnatural; it is nevertheless strictly true. The most profound thinkers have borne startling testimony to it. Thus, for example, the working-man had no better friend than Heiné, the great German poet and satirist, for no one toiled harder than he did himself to the day of his death. In his youth Heiné was in favor of "strikes," but no one has left on record a stronger condemnation of them, although his warning is couched, as the most solemn of his warnings are, in the language of galety. His words seem, indeed, tame when rendered into English; but most of the "strikers" are ignorant of the original. Thus, for example, it is in vain the Steinways would have addressed the mob that threatened to destroy their fine establishment—the source of so much that has afforded gratification to the eye, the ear, and the mind—in such lines as these:—

"Ich rief den Teufel und er kam,
Und ich sah ihn mit Verwund'rung an.
Er ist nicht hässlich, und ist nicht lahm,
Er ist ein lieber, charmanter Mann," etc.

We fear that among the larger part of the crowd this would only have made matters worse, and rendered it all the more difficult for Commissioner Bosworth to succeed, as he happily did, in protecting the threatened property, and the life or liberty of those who threatened it, at the same time. It might have been different, however—the carrying-out of the commissioner's judicious plan might have been facilitated—had the experience of Heiné been given in plain English, as follows:—

"I called the devil and he came,
To view him with wonder I began,
He is not ugly, and is not lame,
Far from it, he is a charming man," etc.

The "strikers" will undoubtedly find one day that they have evoked a demon, and that he is not the less diabolical for having seemed at the outset rather attractive than repulsive. In the meantime, it is but just to admit that whatever may have been the shortcomings of the police commissioners and the chief officers under their control in the past, they have performed their duties in relation to the "strikers" in a creditable manner. Had they not acted with judgment, sagacity, and promptness, deplorable scenes would have been witnessed in New York before this.

It is but fair the world should know, also, that others possessed of large influence have earnestly and energetically co-operated with them without feeling bound to do so, otherwise, than as good citizens and friends of peace and order. This is true, for example, both of our present sheriff and his immediate predecessor. Mr. Brennan and Mr. O'Brien, do not, we believe, entirely agree in politics at present, but being alike, as they always have been, in the characteristics of honest, straightforward men, they have vied with each other, and rather in secret than with ostentation, in "casting oil on the troubled waters."

Nor should it be forgotten that the Catholic clergy, also, have, in general, nobly done their duty. We take the liberty to mention, as examples, two priests whose names deserve to be written in golden letters for the beneficent, restraining influence they have exercised on excited thousands by their pious, benevolent, and eloquent appeals; although we are quite aware that they would prefer to be mentioned in no letters, but be allowed literally to do good by stealth. There are many of our New York readers whom we need hardly inform that we allude to the Rev. Father Clowry, of St. Gabriel's Church, and the Rev. Father Nicot, of St. Boniface's Church—one as good a specimen of an Irish priest, in piety, learning, and zeal for well-doing, as can be met with anywhere; the other similarly distinguished as a representative French priest, though an Alsacian manifestly half Teutonic in origin, and as much like Luther in the face—with his fine, broad, pale, massive forehead and large piercing eye—as any gentleman we have ever seen.

It is to be hoped that, through all these various means, the danger which at one time seemed so threatening, and of so much magnitude, is now over; and that the working-men of all grades will learn that, after all, force exerted against their employers is not the agency upon which they must rely for the support of their families.

EDUCATION AND BELLES-LETTRES.

Zell's Popular Encyclopedia; A Universal Dictionary of English Language, Science, Literature, and Art. By C. COLANGE, LL.D. In two volumes. Illustrated by over two thousand wood-cuts. 4to, pp. 1196, 1152. Philadelphia. 1870–1871.

WE have received not fewer than fifty letters within the past year asking our opinion of this work. There is so much exaggeration in titles at the present day—they are so much like the advertisements of charlatans—that we confess we had expected little from a work which we heard spoken of only as a "Popular Encyclopedia." True, we had been aware that the most valuable works published in other countries have the simplest titles. This fact might be sufficiently illustrated by mentioning a dozen of illustrious names.

Far be it from us to deny that there are American authors, also, who have had the good taste and honesty to select simple, unpretending names for their works. If the number is very few, it is because we have had but few of the right stamp. In general our authors set off their titles as bad painters do their sign-boards. As the latter rely chiefly on the brightest colors and the heaviest touches of the brush, so do the former put most faith in high-sounding words, and a profusion of them. And, for various reasons, still more true is this of compilers than of authors.

Nor is all so absurd as it seems to sensible people at first sight; for as the vulgar regard the flashiest "pictures" as the best, so do the same numerous fraternity regard those books that have the most pompous and most pretentious titles as the best. And as they judge the name so do they judge the production that bears it. The less thought the latter contains—the less it exercises the thinking faculties—nay, the less real knowledge it embraces, the more "popular" it is. Hence it was that our faith in the new "Encyclopedia," before examining it, was very slight; but because we knew nothing of its real chararacter we gave no opinion. We now give our impressions of it for the first time.

"Blessed are they that expect nothing," says Swift, "for they shall not be disappointed." For the reason mentioned, we certainly did not expect much from the work before us; but now that we have examined it pretty thoroughly, if we are not "blessed," we are at least agreeably surprised. The prefix "popular," as generally used in this country, is not appropriate in the present instance; but in the sense of instructive and useful to all classes of the people, who have any taste for the acquisition of knowledge, or any desire for extending

the sphere of their intelligence, we know no similar work to which it may be more justly applied. In other words, the new "Encyclopedia" is not the crude, shallow, slip-shod, self-contradictory sort of performance which so many of our authors and compilers seem to regard as the only suitable pabulum for the people, and the only kind that ought to be called "popular." It is a work which, while it must prove attractive as well as useful to those who have received only the most elementary education, cannot fail to recommend itself, also, to the most highly educated—even to the possessors of good libraries, for the large amount of information—in general well digested and accurate—which it embraces on multifarious subjects, including the whole circle of the arts and sciences. It is almost superfluous to say that we do not mean that exhaustive articles are devoted to this large variety of subjects, for such alone would require several volumes, each still larger than either of the two thick, closely printed tomes before us, with their small but clear type. Yet we could point out many articles that are quite long and elaborate. But the majority owe their value to the circumstance that in their condensed form they rarely omit any important particulars and scarcely ever any newly discovered facts. Thus, the literary or scientific laborer is often enabled to obtain at a glance information requiring extensive research elsewhere, and which is not to be found at all in other encyclopedias.

We do not mean by this that it is superior, or even equal to, the principal voluminous encyclopedias. It would be absurd to compare it, for example, to the Encyclopedia Britannica, or to Rees's Cyclopedia, the smallest of which is twenty times as large, and contains carefully prepared contributions from a host of men famous in literature, science, and the arts; and yet there are not a few important facts in the work under consideration—the result of recent researches and new discoveries—which are not to be found in either of those invaluable works. As for our own voluminous cyclopedias, that most recently issued and styled "New," is notoriously the least reliable on subjects requiring careful research and accurate scholarship. For these various reasons we have been all the more willing to comply with the wishes of those who honor us with their confidence in regard to "Zell's Popular Encyclopedia," as far as we are able; and for the same reasons it now affords us all the more pleasure to bear testimony to the peculiar merits of the work. The departments which please us most are the historical, geographical, archæological, and scientific. The biographical articles are in general very good, but this department is more open to criticism than any others.

But we must here remark, parenthetically, that it is the besetting sin of American compilers of works of this and of kindred kind, that they are guided much more by friendship and other considerations than by merit in preparing biographies, or selecting model passages from writings. There is scarcely a school-book we take up in which this bad taste—not to call it by a worse name—is not evinced to a greater or less extent. It may be seen at a glance that none are more highly favored in this way than newspaper editors, who are known to possess a large stock of vanity, a very limited stock of knowledge, and a willingness to requite the biographer or compiler in kind. Next to the newspaper editors, lay and religious, those chiefly favored in this respect are politicians and clergymen whose longing for notoriety is supposed to render them equally grateful and generous. Then come that interesting class whose only real claim to intellectual ability of any kind is their money, and that, perhaps, not very honestly obtained. Our readers are aware that the present is not the first time we have denounced this particular branch of puffery and toadyism; nor is it the first time that it has reminded us of attempts made in other parts of the world, especially in Grub Street, to immortalize the dark lanterns of literature, and to which the author of "John Gilpin" refers as follows:—

> "Thus, when a child, as playful children use,
> Has burnt to tinder a stale last year's news,
> The flame extinct, he views the roving fire,
> There goes my lady, and there goes the squire;
> There goes the parson, oh, illustrious spark,
> And there, scarce less illustrious, goes the clerk."

It is needless to inform the majority of our readers that the greatest of real authors—the most profound thinkers—are those who cared least for notoriety or fame. The most justly renowned among the ancients and moderns have studiously avoided both. Hence it is that so many great cities have claimed to have given birth to the author of the Iliad. Pythagoras, who travelled the world in search of knowledge, and was the true discoverer of what is now styled the Copernican System of astronomy, wished to be known only as an honest pedagogue. Lucian, Lucretius, Virgil, and Dante have evinced equal contempt of fame, and of those willing to confer it for a consideration. It was because Shakspeare's mind was imbued with similar sentiments that so little is known about him at the present day. Great authors having any longing for immortality have relied on their works for it, not on the puffers of their time. Thus, for example, Horace says, "I have finished a monument more enduring than brass and more lofty than the royal site of the pyramids."*

* "Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius," etc.

And he is imitated in that sentiment by Ovid, who feels that "neither the anger of Jove, nor fire, nor steel, nor consuming time, can destroy his work."* Swift took much more pains to be remembered as the founder of a hospital for the benefit of the poor than as an author; indeed, he took no pains in regard to the latter, but the contrary, although the author of Gulliver's Travels was, and is, universally recognized as a giant intellect and profound thinker. Long after Sir Walter Scott had achieved greatness, he persisted in remaining "The Great Unknown." Nor did he allow that feeling to undergo any material change to the close of his brilliant life, a fact which finds beautiful and touching expression in his farewell address to his Minstrel Harp—one of his last efforts:—

"Hark! as my lingering footsteps slow retire,
Some spirit of the air has waked thy string!
'Tis now a seraph bold, with touch of fire,
'Tis now the brush of Folly's frolic wing
Receding now the dying, numbers ring.
Fainter and fainter down the rugged dell,
And now the mountain breezes scarcely bring
A wandering witch-note of the distant spell—
And now 'tis silent all! Enchantress, fare thee well!"—

But it must not be inferred from our remarks that the compiler of "Zell's Popular Encyclopedia" has indulged more extensively than others in the vain, if not unprofitable, attempt of making giants of pygmies. We should do him an injustice if we alleged that he has transgressed in that respect even as much as our compilers in general. We have said so much on the subject here only because we regret to see a work so excellent in almost every other respect marred with even comparatively few glorifications of persons to whom neither nature nor education has given any just claim to any such distinction above the mob of half-illiterate scribblers. But did we attempt to cause a few defects in one department to neutralize, or overshadow, the unquestionable merits of so large a variety of other departments, we should be unworthy of the confidence of our readers. We have sufficient in the department of science of what is not to be found in any similar work—being the results of recent researches and discoveries—to make amends for all the blemishes we have alluded to. The lexicographical department alone is of great value; it is, indeed such that none having it will have any need to pay the high price demanded at the present day for a copy of Webster's Dictionary. But this reminds us that we should not close even so hurried a notice as this without remarking that the numerous and generally accurate illustrations of "Zell's Popular Encyclopedia" considerably enhance the interest and attractiveness of the work.

* "Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas."

1. *The Philosophy of Exercise; its importance to promote Health, &c.*
2. *The Skate Roll.* Newark, January, 1872.

THE prevailing boast of the present age is, that it is eminently utilitarian. Nor can it be denied that it has attained high distinction in that respect; yet no enlightened age has evinced so complete an obliviousness of the primary, essential means of utility. This is so strange a contradiction that at first sight it seems impossible to believe it; but a little reflection will show that it is not the less true on this account. It will be admitted that the most brilliant genius can accomplish little without health; and the most unskilful mechanic, and the most ignorant agricultural laborer, are equally powerless in their respective spheres if deprived of their health. Still, what is more neglected than this inestimable boon?

True, we have shown, on several occasions, in this journal, that no people on earth consume more drugs than we, and that none more rapidly make the fortunes of the most ignorant pretenders to the healing art.* Indeed, were we judged by the success of our mountebanks in persuading us to regard the most worthless or most deleterious of their nostrums as infallible elixirs, the natural inference would be that we surpass all other nations, ancient and modern, in our unremitting, anxious care of our health. There is scarcely a more deplorable feature in our character than the credulity by which we allow ourselves to be thus imposed upon; there is certainly none that is more incompatible with the superior enlightenment which we claim.

The most eminent physicians of all ages and countries tell us that exercise is better than physic; and it requires little research to ascertain that in proportion as the world has become enlightened has it accepted and acted upon the opinions of those sages. The Greeks of the time of Pericles were as much distinguished for their gymnastic exercises and various modes of physical development and culture, as they were for their masterpieces in poetry, oratory, history, sculpture, and architecture.

The most ancient medical works of authority that have reached our time show what a much higher value was set thousands of years ago on exercises which influence body and mind at the same time than on the most famous drugs. Galen informs us that Esculapius recommended the former as much superior to the latter. Nor has Hippocrates neglected to inculcate the same doctrine. None who understand the subject doubt that Galen was influenced by the views of the Father of Medicine, when, in his discourse to Thrasibulus, he

* *Vide* No. IV, Art. "Quackery and the Quacked." No. XVI, Art. "Our Quack Doctors, and their Performances." No. XLVII, "Our Quack Doctors, and How they Thrive."

discussed the question whether the preservation of health belongs to medicine, or to the gymnastic art. At the same time, it must not be supposed that those great men were in favor of such violent exercises as some of our modern extremists have so strongly recommended, and which have seriously injured—sometimes destroyed—instead of improving or preserving, the health of hundreds of our young people of both sexes. Galen carefully puts his readers on their guard against those violent exercises, and our readers will bear us testimony that this is not the first time we have denounced the excesses alluded to, while anxious to do all in our power to encourage rational exercise.*

We have been prompted to return to the subject on the present occasion, though only for a moment, by a small pamphlet which fell into our hands by accident, and the title of which we place at the head of these remarks. That title is not the less appropriate because the exercise to which it is chiefly devoted is that of skating. There was, indeed, no novelty to us in the fact that skates are better than drugs in their influence on health; especially those skates which need neither ice nor a chilling atmosphere.

Skating is a much more ancient exercise than those who practise or admire it most seem aware. In all northern countries its history is as old as that of their civilization; but it is needless, in this brief sketch, to trace it farther back than the Scandinavian *Edda*, in which the jolly, honest god, Uller, is distinguished as much for his swift-running skates as for his far-reaching arrows. At least five centuries ago our English ancestors were quite as familiar with the sport as we are now. It does not appear, indeed, that they had any such beautiful and safe article as the "Roller Skate" of the present day; but that they were capable of deriving much pleasure as well as profit from skating, is abundantly clear. In proof of this, we need only refer the curious reader to Fitzstephen's "Description of the Ancient Customs of London." "Some," says the author, "tye bones to their feet, and under their heeles, and shoving themselves by a little picket staffe doe slide *as swiftly as a bird flyeth in the air*, or *an arrow out of a crosse bow*."

An enthusiastic member of the New York Skating Association recently favored us with a description of what is called Figure Skating, assuring us that no quadrille, or other dance, taught by the most accomplished professor of the saltatory art, exhibits more graceful movements, or is more attractive or more exhilarating. Probably we should have regarded this statement as, at best, an exaggeration, but we had recently happened to glance at an old book entitled "Sports and Pastimes of the People of England," in which

* *Vide* No. XLIV, Art. "Specimen of a Modern Educator of Young Ladies."

the author remarks that "he has seen upon the Serpentine river four gentlemen dance a double minuet in skates with as much ease and more elegance than in a ball-room." However, as we had only to go to the Plimpton Building, which is just beside our new office, we resolved to ascertain whether the enthusiasm of our friend had not some foundation in fact. It is not our province to give a formal report even of what interests and pleases us most. It is for those who have more time and space to spare to enter into details; suffice it in the present instance to admit that neither the *Edda* nor any other work, ancient or modern, describes finer specimens of the grace and poetry of motion than it was our good fortune to witness during our brief visit to the Plimpton. In short, we were most agreeably surprised; for nowhere else have we seen the sons and daughters of rich and poor mingle so freely, and vie with each other so cordially, without any violation of the strictest rational decorum.

Such being our experience of the New York Skating Association, it affords us pleasure to learn that similar associations are being established in all our principal cities. We trust we need hardly say that, much pleasure as they afford, and decidedly beneficial as they are in their hygienic influence, we would be the last to recommend or encourage them did we believe that they had the slightest tendency to cause the cultivation of the intellect to be neglected. But did we regard them in any such light, we should differ with the world's greatest thinkers, whose unanimous opinion it is, that by no other means is the mind as well as the body more invigorated than by just such moderate yet highly exhilarating exercise as that afforded by the roller skate; and it is almost superfluous to add, that whatever invigorates the mind, without unduly stimulating any of its faculties so as to cause morbid reaction, not only facilitates but prompts its development.

Gesta Romanorum; or, Entertaining Moral Stories; Invented by the Monks as a Fireside Recreation, and commonly applied in their Discourses from the Pulpit, etc., etc. Translated from the Latin, with preliminary observations and copious notes. By the Rev. CHARLES SWAN. New edition, with an Introduction by THOMAS WRIGHT, M. A., F. S. A. Two vols., 16mo. New York: J. W. Bouton. 1872.

WE wish that some of the monks of the present day would write "stories" like these; or, rather, we wish they had the necessary

learning and ability. Take, for example, the monks of St. Xavier's College and St. John's College (Fordham). What sort of "*Gesta*" would they invent? What sort do they invent? No doubt many of our readers would suggest the *Gesta Tudiculorum*. But these are realities, not inventions; and the same may be said of the *Gesta Picis Liquidæ et Plumarum*, at least in the case of their very reverend provincial.

The unlearned reader must not suppose, however, that we allude, by the term "liquidæ," to any stronger or more subtle liquor than common tar, or that we mean "borrowed feathers" by "plumarum." As we would do none injustice, the worst charge we would make against our St. Xavier and Fordham monks is ignorance, and such of its melancholy consequences as bigotry, ill manners, spite, political intrigue, etc. Even this we prefer much more in sorrow than in anger, for we entirely agree with Cicero, that ignorance is a very perplexing thing, especially to those who have constantly to pretend that they are learned:—

"Ignorantione rerum bonarum, et malarum, maxime *hominum vita vexatur*."*

But fortunately there are monks even at the present day who are entirely free from all these maladies, as well as from their exciting cause; nor need we go beyond the disciples of Loyola for very good examples of this class. Then there are the Dominicans, or Preachers, to whose order the eloquent Father Burke belongs. The Dominicans have had a house in this city for several years under the guidance of the Very Rev. Father Wilson, aided by the Rev. Father McGovern. But who has ever heard of their attempting to exercise any influence on our people but a salutary one, or of pursuing toward any sect, party, or individual, any other course than a conciliatory and kind one? The "Gesta" of monks like these we should indeed be pleased with at any time, and would recommend them to our readers, as cheerfully as we would those of the most pious and most learned Protestant divines.

Nor are these the only monks in America at the present day, in whose "Gesta" we should have implicit faith. We are unwilling to mention the Christian Brothers as an illustration, because, curiously enough, they never can be spoken of as they deserve without incurring the ill-will of their degenerate rivals; although, so far as we are concerned, we can solemnly declare that not one of those good men has ever made the slightest attempt to influence our opinions either in their favor or against their rivals. If we have sometimes contrasted them with those rivals, it is because there is really a contrast between

* *De Fin.* i, 13.

them, and a very striking one;—a contrast as educators; a contrast as Christians; a contrast as citizens! Accordingly, if a book reached our table to-morrow, containing the "Gesta" of such "monks" as Brothers Patrick, Paulian, James, Edward, Justin, Bettelin, and Humphrey, all of whom can write as well as teach—some excellently—we should feel that we incurred no risk in recommending it to our readers. In the meantime, the two volumes before us claim the attention of all who are capable of profiting by the lessons of learned, wise, witty, and good men.

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham. Written by himself. In three vols. 12mo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871–1872.

BUT few men so highly gifted as Brougham appear in a century; still fewer have so interesting a record. For nearly half a century he was one of the most prominent men in Europe; no man was more active or more energetic; nor did any man, devoted chiefly to law and politics, exercise so great an influence on his countrymen; and, what redounds to his credit more than all this, his influence was always salutary. One born in Scotland with no silver spoon in his mouth, with no powerful friends to aid in advancing him, who elevates himself to the most exalted position which it is possible for a British subject to occupy—that of lord high chancellor of England—proves by this fact alone that he possesses extraordinary talents.

But Lord Brougham is as distinguished in literature as he is in law and politics. Even his chivalric and noble defence of the unfortunate Queen Caroline scarcely contributed more to his fame than the share he had in founding the "Edinburgh Review," and securing for it a high reputation as a contributor to its pages. There was no great philanthropic work of his time in which his lordship did not take an active and zealous part. The great cause of education, in all its ramifications, ever found in him an uncompromising and powerful advocate.

We glance at these facts not for the purpose of describing the character of one so well known to every intelligent person as Lord Brougham, but simply to suggest to our readers what may be expected from the autobiography of such a man. Who would not expect to find it, not merely interesting, but replete with valuable lessons, especially to young men? Such certainly was the spirit in which we took up the three thick volumes before us, and, far from being disappointed after a careful examination of their contents, we

ave seldom been more agreeably surprised. For not only is the uthor communicative in regard to himself—scarcely concealing anyiing that is interesting, instructive, or amusing—as a student, as an lvocate, as a reviewer or journalist, as an educator, as a reformer, s a philanthropist, as a chancellor, and as a statesman; he is equally ɔmmunicative, equally frank and honest, in regard to all with whom ıose various positions brought him into contact. At the same time, s habits of sitting in judgment both as reviewer and jurist lead him sensibly into criticisms which impart an agreeable piquancy to his timates of his contemporaries. As far as we can, we will let the urnalist-chancellor illustrate this in his own words. Referring to e Rev. Sydney Smith's account of the origin of the "Edinburgh ɔview," he proceeds:—

"Now nothing can be more imaginary than nearly the whole of the above account. In ı first place, there never was a house eight or nine stories high in Buccleuch place, or any of that portion of the new town of Edinburgh. No house at that time exceeded ee stories. In the second place, Smith *never was appointed editor*. He read over the ;icles, and so far may be said to have edited the first number; but regularly constituted itor he never was; for, with all his other rare and remarkable qualities, there was not nan among us less fitted for such a position. He was a very moderate classic; he had t the smallest knowledge of mathematics or of any science. He could no more have ited, that is, sat in judgment upon, Playfair's article on 'Mascheroni's Geometry,' ɔ. 17, p. 161; or on Delambert's paper on the 'Arc of the Meridian,' No. 18, p. 373; or Bentley's 'Hindoo Astronomy,' No. 20, p. 455, than he could have written the 'Princia.'"—(Vol. i, pp. 176-7.)

His estimate of the editorial qualifications of Jeffrey is very difrent, but it is equally just:—

"His classical education was that of an accomplished scholar. With all the poets, pecially, whether of Greece or of Rome, he had a most familiar acquaintance; and his ill in these languages remained unimpaired through after-life, insomuch that to the last read, for relaxation, the Greek classics almost as easily as the Latin."—(Vol. i. p. 175.)

In those times, not yet very remote, both classical and scientific arning were deemed essential for those who undertook to sit in ıdgment on classical and scientific works. In Europe it is still ɔgarded somewhat in the same light; but in our country, classical arning, especially, is not merely needless; even "educators," prossors, and presidents of colleges tell us that it is calculated to retard ıther than hasten "the march of intellect." Accordingly, of course, ıe less our reviewers are burdened with it, the more accomplished nd better qualified they are, if only because their ignorance is so blissful" that it will prevent them from becoming "heavy." A ttle further on, his lordship enters into particulars:—

"Jeffrey's labors as editor were unceasing, and I will venture to say, if we had arched all Europe, a better man, *in every respect*, could not have been found. As a ritic he was unequalled; and, take them as a whole, I conclude his articles were the est we had. As an instance of the care he took in revising and preparing contributions, remember an article on the 'Memoirs of Prince Eugene' was sent to Jeffrey by Mill,

Jeffrey gave it to Dr. Ferrier, of Manchester, to revise; and when he got it back from Dr. Ferrier, he himself corrected it, and added the moral reflections and the concluding observations on the new Paris edition of the work!"—(*Ib.*, i, pp. 184, 185.)

Turning from literature and literary men to politics and statesmen, we snatch a fragment which speaks for itself:—

"Mr. Pitt liked practical fun, and used to encourage it. One instance, which Napier gives, shows Pitt in a point of view singular, and little to be anticipated of so generally solemn a personage. They—Lady Hester, James Stanhope, and Napier—had resolved to blacken his face with burnt cork, which he most strenuously resisted. Early in the fray, a servant announced that Lord Castlereagh and Lord Liverpool had called, desiring to see him on important business. 'Let them wait in the outer room,' said the great minister, instantly returning to the great battle, catching up a cushion and belaboring his attackers, who proved too many for him, and after a prolonged struggle, got him down and began daubing his face, when, with a look of well-assumed confidence in his powers of still resisting, he said, 'Stop—this won't do; I could easily beat you all, but we must not keep these grandees waiting any longer;' so they were obliged to get a towel and basin of water to wash him clean before he received the grandees. Being thus made decent, the basin was hid behind the sofa, and the two lords ushered in. Then a sudden change and entirely new phase of manner appeared, to Napier's great surprise and admiration. Lord Liverpool's manner was, as usual, mean-looking, bending, nervous, and altogether pitiful. Lord Castlereagh, Napier said, he had well known from his childhood; had often been engaged with him in such athletic sports as pitching the stone, bar, and so on; and he had looked upon him as a model of calm grace combined with great strength. What, then, was his surprise, when he saw both him and Lord Liverpool humbly bending as they approached the man who had so recently been maltreated with such an excess of fun! But it was Mr. Pitt's sudden change of manner and look which most entirely fixed his attention. His tall, ungainly, bony figure seemed to grow up to the ceiling—his head thrown back, his eyes fixed immovably in one position, as if gazing into the heavens and totally regardless of the two bending figures before him. For some time they spoke, and he made now and then a short observation; but finally, with an abrupt, stiff inclination of his body, but without casting his eyes down, dismissed them; and then, turning round with a laugh, caught up his cushion and renewed the fight."—(*Ib.*, i, pp. 226-7.)

This is not the only passage in which Lord Liverpool occupies a ludicrous and mean position, but one entirely consistent with his character. Before giving Lady Hester Stanhope's estimate of him, as recast by Lord Brougham, we may remark that both his lordship's calibre as a statesman, and his character as a man, were very nearly equal to those of our own William H. Seward.

"A young fellow of Deal had been engaged in smuggling, and got involved in a fray in which a sailor was killed, but not by him; and there were, besides, circumstances of extenuation: however, he was apprehended, tried, and condemned to death. His old mother went to Lady Hester, beseeching her aid; and Lady Hester, without hesitation, went to Lord Liverpool, stated all the circumstances, and made out, as she fully believed, a case for pardon. Napier said she described her interview with the most bitter sarcasm. His maudlin lordship, she said, listened with great interest to her story, admitted it to be a case for commiseration, and that the plea she had urged in the man's favor was very powerful, but added that, before he could give an answer, he must consult his housekeeper! He went downstairs, remained half-an-hour with his adviser, and, returning to Lady Hester, told her 'they had wept together over the sad case, but that the man must be hanged!' All this seems incredible, but Napier assured me it was positively so stated to him by Lady Hester, and that she told him many other stories about this housekeeper, and of her marvellous influence over Lord Liverpool."—(*Ib.*, i, p. 225.)

We have yet glanced only at one volume, and in this there remain many interesting scenes and incidents to which we cannot even allude. A considerable part of the second volume is occupied with the trial of Queen Caroline, its causes and results. Several of the Queen's letters to her husband, when prince of Wales, and to his father, George III, are given in the original French in which they were written, with the replies of both prince and king, in the same language. This correspondence, with Brougham's comments upon it, forms a most interesting episode in the second volume, and cannot fail to convince the reader of the cruel injustice of which the ill-fated Caroline was the victim.

Much of the third volume is devoted to the affairs of Ireland. There are few great men that know anything of the Emerald Isle who have not kind words to say of itself and its people; and, far from forming an exception, Lord Brougham is still more friendly, if possible, than even Sir Walter himself.* No one thought more highly of the Irish orators than the greatest of British chancellors since Wolsey's time. Perhaps it is because Brougham, like all other learned men, has a very different opinion of the Celt, as compared with either the Saxon or the Norman, from that which pervades the cheap literture of the present day, for while the students of this sort of literature are so fond of boasting that they are Saxon or Norman, the boast of Lord Brougham is in the opposite direction. "I think, then," says his lordship, "I am fairly entitled to argue that I at least owe much to the Celtic blood, which my mother brought from the clans of Struan and Kinloch-Moidart.†

Be this as it may, our Irish readers will find that no one has paid finer tributes to their favorite orators than Brougham. Take for example his estimate of Plunkett. We can only make room for a small fragment or two :—

"Whoever has cultivated a pure and classical taste for the oratorical art, must feel at the mention of Plunkett's name somewhat of the thrill which the illustrious Greeks never fail to cause; for assuredly the modern orator is unsurpassed, if he has ever been equalled, since Attic voices were mute. It is to be lamented that no perfect collection of his speeches has ever been made; although, partly from the deliberate as well as very distinct manner of his utterance, partly from the deep impression of his discourse, the ordinary channels render them with an almost unexampled fidelity.

"It was in the debates upon the change of Ministry, March, 1807, that Mr. Plunkett, already high among the speakers of his own country, first burst forth upon the world at large as an orator of the first class."—(*Ib.*, iii, p. 318.)

Passing over much written in the same appreciative spirit, we select a passage, which shows that a man of enlightened ideas may be a Protestant, and yet have as warm a sympathy for his Catholic fel-

* See "Rokeby" for an illustration. † Vol. I, p. 18.

low-subjects, or fellow-citizens, as any Catholic could; but, with this passage we must close our extracts, and lay aside, at least for the present, the most charming and most instructive volumes it has long been our privilege to examine:—

"The Catholic question formed the subject of both speeches, and each was of the highest order, especially the first upon Mr. Grattan's motion. The second was upon the speaker (Abbot's) speech to the throne, stigmatizing the question, and boasting that the Commons had rejected it. See how, with the fierce and indignant eloquence of Demosthenes, and nearly in his words, he tears to tatters the arguments, and scatters to the wind the alarms of those who would exclude the Catholics by tests and securities.

"You accept his word as proof that he has abjured his religious tenets, but you will not receive his oath as long as he abides by them. Is it that he is insincere in his oath? Then, why trust his declaration? Has the oath a negative power? Is it not merely that his oath is not binding, but that what shall be full evidence if he merely assert it by implication, shall become utterly incredible if he swear it directly? Why, this is worse than transubstantiation; it is as flagrant a rebellion against the rules of demonstration as the other is against the testimony of sense."—(Vol. iii. pp. 319–20.)

Memoir of Robert Chambers, with Autobiographic Reminiscences of WILLIAM CHAMBERS. 12mo, pp. 313. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1872.

IT is certain that no two individuals of the present age have contributed more to the diffusion of useful knowledge, throughout Great Britain and Ireland, than the Brothers Chambers. To many of our readers, if not to the majority, this may seem an exaggerated statement; because, although the publications of those gentlemen have always been extensively read in this country, their influence on our people has been trifling compared to that which they have exercised, for more than a quarter of a century, especially on the middle classes of the United Kingdom. Indeed, none but those brought up in some one of the British islands, and who have taken an interest in the progress of enlightenment, can form any adequate estimate of the good they have done. We well remember ourselves, what an eager thirst for the acquisition of knowledge had been excited by the Chambers's publications so early as 1834, two years after the commencement of the "Journal." For at least, three decades that thirst has been steadily increased, while those chiefly instrumental in producing it have availed themselves of every means which intelligence, talent, good taste, and enterprise had placed in their power for its gratification.

These facts alone would have secured the present volume a large circle of readers, altogether independently of the attractiveness and value of its contents, as a source of entertainment and instruction.

But it is chiefly for the moral lessons which it teaches by example, that we would recommend it to young men; for even the early struggles, trials, indomitable perseverance, and ultimate success of Franklin are scarcely a more instructive and encouraging study than the similar efforts and triumphs of Robert and William Chambers.

Apart from the experience of these gentlemen—especially that which illustrates the state of education in Scotland at the period when their poverty would have rendered it difficult for them to devote sufficient time to study, could they have obtained the best instruction gratis—would seem incredible from the ancient fame of the Scottish parochial schools, were it not but too amply attested. An extract or two will give a more correct idea of this than any remarks we can make in this rapid glance. Thus, Robert describes one of his early instructors as follows:—

"My first school was one kept by a poor old widow, Kirsty Cranston, who, according to her own account, was qualified to carry forward her pupils as far as reading the Bible; but to this proficiency there was the reasonable exception of leaving out difficult words, such as Mather-shalal-hash-baz. These, she told the children, might be made 'a passover,' and accordingly, it was the rule of the establishment to let them alone."—(p. 44.)

There are, indeed, "passovers" made at the present day; even our colleges and universities are by no means free from such, as we have shown in these pages. "From this humble seminary," says Mr. Chambers, "I was, in time, transferred to the high school, then under the charge of Mr. James Gray, author of a popular treatise on arithmetic. The fee, here, was *two shillings and twopence per quarter* for reading and writing, and *sixpence additional for arithmetic.*" (p. 44.) That is about three dollars a year of our money. Need, we inquire, how many times three dollars do some of our teachers, whose qualifications are by no means superior to those of James Gray, charge for a quarter, not to mention a year? We fear also that something like the following may be observed at this moment, not far from New York. "At this school, too, as is usual with such seminaries in Scotland, the Bible was read as a class-book, *but with no kind of reverence, or even decorum.*"—(p. 45.) William neglected his Latin, for which the fee was twenty shillings a year. Like every other sensible person, who, in his youth, was foolish enough to do so, he has, regretted that neglect through life, "for," he says, "even the small knowledge of Latin which I did acquire during two years of study has not failed to be of considerable service in various respects."—(p. 46.) His brother Robert, upon the other hand, was for many years a zealous student of Greek and Latin, especially of the latter, and he admits that without the knowledge and culture thus gained, he could never have succeeded as he did as an editor, compiler, and essayist.

But, whatever may be the defects of the schools of the present day, they are more than an age in advance, at least in one respect, of those described by Mr. Chambers. What we allude to is best explained by the following passage:—

"In the morning of that day a sensation had been created by the intelligence that two of the boarders, gentlemen's sons from Edinburgh, had absconded, and that two town-constables—one of them Drummer Will—had been dispatched in search of them. The youths were caught, brought back in disgrace, and were now to suffer a punishment suitable to the gravity of the offense. Sullen and terrified, the two culprits stood before the assembled school, the two town-officers in their scarlet coats sitting as a guard within the doorway. The usual hum ceased. There was a death like stillness. First reproaching the offenders with their highly improper conduct, the teacher ordered them instantly to strip for flogging. The boys resisted, and were seized by an assistant and the two officers. With clothes in disorder, they were laid across a long, desk-like table, the rise of which in the middle offered that degree of convexity which was favorable to the application of the tawse. Kicking and screaming, they suffered the humiliating infliction, and the school was forthwith dismissed for the day."—(pp. 47, 48.)

Such scenes were of almost daily occurrence so recently as twenty years ago; but they were not the less brutal and demoralizing on this account. In this country we have now reached the other extreme. If there must be any punishment, at the present day, it is the pupil who must inflict it on the teacher; nay, even the pupil's parent must regard himself as very fortunate if he is not told by him not to dare to interfere, but mind his own business. But we must pass on to another topic or two. Writing to the young lady whom he soon afterwards married, Robert says:—

"My brother William and I lived in lodgings together. Our room and bed cost three shillings a week. It was in the West Port, near Burke's place. I cannot understand how I should ever have lived in it. The woman who kept the lodgings was a Peebles woman, who knew and wished to be kind to us. She was, however, of a very narrow disposition, partly the result of poverty. I used to be in great distress for want of fire. I could not afford either that or candle myself. So I have often sat beside her kitchen-fire, if fire it could be called, which was only a little heap of embers, reading Horace and conning my dictionary by a light which required me to hold the books almost close to the grate. What a miserable winter that was! Yet I cannot help feeling proud of my trials at that time."—(p. 114.)

To the European not born with a silver spoon in his mouth, there is hardly anything strange in this; indeed, to all Europeans who are "self-made," the picture is but too familiar. In this country, however, where none save the idle and lazy need want fire and light to study by, it will be realized but by few.

We would gladly extract several other passages, fully satisfied that they could not fail to exercise a salutary influence on our young men; but we can only make room for one or two. We just happen to glance at a few paragraphs, which need no introduction:—

"It was in 1814, when residing in Greek street, Soho. One day, about noon, a carriage drives up to the door—not a vehicle of the light, modern sort, but an old family-coach,

drawn by a pair of sleek horses. From it descends an aged gentleman, who, from his shovel hat and black gaiters, is seen to be an ecclesiastical dignitary. I overhear, by the voices at the door, that I am asked for. 'Who, in all the world, can this be?' A few minutes solve the question. Heavy footsteps are heard deliberately ascending the antique balustraded stair. My unknown visitor is ushered in—his name announced: 'The Rev. Sydney Smith.' I hasten to receive so celebrated a personage as is befitting, and express the pleasure I have in the unexpected visit—wondering how he had discovered me. 'I heard at Rogers's you were in town,' said he, 'and was resolved to call. Let us sit down, and have a talk.' We drew towards the fire, for the day was cold, and he continued: 'You are surprised possibly at my visit. There is nothing at all strange about it. The originator of the 'Edinburgh Review' has come to see the originator of the 'Edinburgh Journal.' I felt honored by the remark, and delighted beyond measure with the good-natured and unceremonious observations which my visitor made on a variety of subjects. We talked of Edinburgh, and I asked him where he had lived. He said it was in Buccleuch Place, not far from Jeffrey, with an outlook behind to the Meadows. 'Ah,' he remarked, 'what charming walks I had about Arthur's Seat, with the clear mountain air blowing in one's face! I often think of that glorious scene.' I alluded to the cluster of young men—Jeffrey, Horner, Brougham, himself, and one or two others, who had been concerned in commencing the 'Review' in 1802. Of these, he spoke with most affection of Horner, and specified one who, from his vanity and eccentricities, could not be trusted. Great secrecy, he said, had to be employed in conducting the undertaking, and this agrees with what Lord Jeffrey told my brother. My reverend and facetious visitor made some little inquiry about my own early efforts, and he laughed when I reminded him of a saying of his own about studying on a little oatmeal—for that would have applied literally to my brother and to myself. 'Ah, *labora, labora*,' he said sententiously, 'how that word expresses the character of your country!' 'Well, we do sometimes work pretty hard,' I observed; 'but, for all that, we can relish a pleasantry as much as our neighbors. You must have seen that the Scotch have a considerable fund of humor.' 'Oh, by all means,' replied my visitor, 'you are an immensely funny people, but you need a little operating upon to let the fun out. I know no instrument so effectual for the purpose as the corkscrew!' Mutual laughter, of course."—(pp. 274, 275.)

No doubt the Rev. Sydney Smith was a little ironical in giving the Scotch credit for being "immensely funny," but they have an immense fund of fun in them, nevertheless. This it were easy to illustrate, but we have to pass on for other topics and other books also claim our attention. Both Robert and William evince a little vanity here and there, but it is of a harmless kind. Men who have done so much good may well be excused for claiming to be of Norman origin, and descended from "William de la Chambre, Bailif e Bourgois de Peebles," although it may be safely suspected that that personage was purely mythical. Be this as it may, even vanity sometimes leads one into a wholesome, sensible train of thought. Whether the following remarks by Robert Chambers may be regarded as an illustration of this, or not, may be doubted; at all events, none who have had opportunities of judging in such cases will deny that they contain much truth, and as such are worth remembering:—

(July 27.) "There is a quality of human nature which may be called adaptiveness. Some persons readily adapt themselves to any new society into which they may be thrown: others not. When a man rises in the world, it is often found that his wife does not, cannot rise with him. Sometimes this does not proceed solely from want of the intellect and taste requisite for the purpose, but from a kind of wilfulness. Not feeling

that new acquaintances attribute any peculiar merit to her, or pay her any particular attention, she affects to hold lightly the marks of approbation bestowed upon her husband, and takes a kind of pleasure in not favoring his advance. In some cases, the mere sense of awkwardness under the new circumstances may operate to the same effect. Women ought to consider it as a duty to adapt themselves, as far as they may, to their changed condition. A regard for the happiness of the husband and family demands it."—(pp. 294, 295.)

Much space as we have devoted to this book, we must make room for one extract more. There are those who imagine that a literary journal should have no support or aid beyond what it receives from its subscribers, and that if it has anything much more substantial than air to live upon, it cannot be the right kind. But they are persons who have never learned to think. Both the brothers Chambers give emphatic testimony from experience on that point. And they show that even the "Spectator"—whose most regular writers were Addison and Steele, and which numbered among its contributors writers like Swift, Parnell, and Tickell—required something more material to subsist upon than glory and fame:—

"As early as 1701, a bill had been brought into parliament to impose a halfpenny stamp on newspapers; but such was the clamor raised by the printers, that the scheme was dropped. Beat off for a time, the House of Commons, which had then little sympathy with social progress, successfully renewed the attack on the press, and the 12th of August, 1712, saw the newspapers as well as the purely literary sheets, issued with a stamp, a halfpenny if half a sheet, and a penny if a whole sheet. At the same time, a tax of a shilling was imposed on every advertisement. The pretext for these measures was a wish to stem allegedly impertinent discussions on public affairs. But the good was swept down as well as the bad. The 'Spectator,' which had been the vehicle for the noble writings of Addison, immediately experienced a severe reverse. The price was doubled, to meet the new expenses, but the expedient failed. Any rise in the charge for a cheap periodical is generally fatal to its circulation. After a vain struggle, the 'Spectator' expired in 1713."—(p. 203.)

Rapid as our glance at the book has necessarily been, we think we have sufficiently indicated its character to render it superfluous to recommend it for the valuable lessons it teaches to our young men, especially those having any literary aspirations.

ART.

Art: its Laws and the Reasons for them, Collected, Considered, and Arranged for General and Educational Purposes. By SAMUEL P. LONG, Counsellor-at-Law, &c., &c. 12mo, pp. xxxii, 248. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

SELDOM has any work, that may be regarded as a treatise, afforded us so much pleasure as this; certainly no work on art of the same

size has, although we yield to none in our admiration of the beautiful. We have no knowledge whatever of Mr. Long, save what we derive from his book, but we feel that for this he deserves great credit; for we know no one, either at home or abroad, who has compressed into so slender a volume such a multifarious variety of facts and precepts illustrative of the principles of art, in painting, sculpture, and architecture, without obtruding on the student a single observation that is superfluous.

This, we are quite aware, is high praise. We admit also that nothing awakens our enthusiam more than a careful, elaborate, and successful effort to place—as Mr. Long has done—within the reach of the youth of both sexes an easy and agreeable means of developing and cultivating their taste. Yet we indulge in no exaggeration. We wish, indeed, to encourage the writing or compiling of such books, but we wish still more to induce the public to profit by them.

The volume before us consists chiefly of a series of fourteen essays. We should like to indicate the peculiar merits of each of these, did time and space permit us to do so. But that on "Personal Beauty" alone would fully justify our estimate of the book. Another fine essay is that on "Invention." We may remark to our Teutonic readers that the two essays on Chiaro-oscuro and Color remind us of a very fine German poem by a lady well known to fame,* entitled "Talent and Art," the two first stanzas of which run thus:—

"Talent ist angeboren,
Doch gnügt zur Kunst es nicht.
Wer Ruhm zum Ziel erkoren,
Üb' eine grosse Pflicht.

"Er späh mit ernstem Sinne
Stets nach des schönen Spur,
Das täglich er gewinne
An Wahrheit und Natur."

There is a catalogue of works of art, to which reference is made in the book, which will be found both useful and interesting. Mr. Long also enhances the value of his work by a copious alphabetical index, and an excellent variety of finely-engraved illustrations. Among the latter are the Angel Raphael, by Raphael; the Raising of Lazarus; the Woman Accused in the Synagogue, by Rembrandt; and Titian's Bunch of Grapes. In short, we we only wish we could impress every American parent and guardian with the intrinsic worth of "Art: its Laws, and the Reasons for them," as a fund of well-digested, lucid, and attractive instruction on the most beautiful subjects that can interest and refine the human mind.

* Elisabeth Kulmann.

EXPLANATORY.

The Appendix on Insurance has to be omitted in the present number, on account of the sudden illness of the writer. This is the first time that omission has been made in eight years, and it is hoped that it will not occur again for as many years to come.

The editor is quite aware that there are many—indeed all that are criticised—who would be glad if the Appendix were omitted. But no honest underwriter would; and there is ample proof that the general public scarcely read any article in the Review with more avidity than the Appendix on Insurance.

THE

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. L.

SEPTEMBER, 1872.

ART. I.—1. *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines.* Par L'ABBÉ ETIENNE BONNOT DE CONDILLAC. Paris.

2. *Traité des sensations.* CONDILLAC. Paris.

3. *Les Philosophes Français du dix-neuvième Siècle.* Par HYPPOLYTE-ADOLPHE TAINE. Paris.

4. *De l'Intelligence.* TAINE. Paris.

5. *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise.* TAINE. Paris.

6. *System of Logic.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London.

DIFFICULT as is the pathway from sense to thought, from the mental to the physical domain, it is one that has proved peculiarly attractive to mankind, and among the earliest remains of human thought are metaphysical systems of considerable intricacy. Yet such truth as these contain is of that speculative character which the deep-thinking mind readily deduces from the ultimates of nature. It was left to the modern world to apply the rules of inductive science to this important question, and to attempt to build a bridge of hard facts from the physical to the metaphysical.

Though there still yawns an apparently impassable abyss between sensation and consciousness, much has been done to narrow this chasm, and to make firm its approaches. Science,

that myriad-armed polypus, is grasping so tenaciously with its feelers the whole universe of matter and mind, that it has become unsafe to lay the finger on any point and say, this at least is beyond its reach. Daily the human body falls more and more within its grasp. The last outwork of speculation, the ancient dogma of vital force, is fast yielding to the assaults of chemistry; and Huxley, with his "Protoplasm," is likely to prove too strong for Beale, with his "Germinal Matter." It is, in fact, widely held that the animal body is but the product and the field of a refined chemistry; while, as for the phenomena of its organization, a host of comparative anatomists, developmentists, Darwinists, and others, are doing much to show that these are in strict subserviency to natural law, and that physically the animal nowhere transcends the known principles of nature.

So, an equal host of mental physiologists and anatomists are tracing the correlations of mental phenomena, and feeling their way back from the most diverse results to certain broad and simple principles which lie at the basis of all the manifestations of the mind. Diligent research, too, is being made into the various relations between mind and matter, by a minute study of that refined instrument of combination, the nervous system. As a result of this broad extension of the field of science, its votaries are boldly hypothesising on subjects which, until of late, were considered as beyond the province of the reasoning faculties.

In considering the nature of mental action, it becomes evident that we think largely through the medium of signs, names being a species of signs which replace past experiences. The human mind strongly tends to apply names to its sensations, and these names have the property of recalling the mental images which they signify. But, as man's experiences increase, it becomes difficult to remember everything by a special proper name, and a natural process of classification commences, resulting in the employment of common names. These are images of impossible experiences, since they suggest the common features in a group of dissimilar forms.

All sensations are productive of mental images, which are

recalled to consciousness by the act of memory. But the image aroused by a common name is indefinite. Thus the word *tree* produces a mental tendency to conceive of certain trees, the characters peculiar to each being repressed by their lack in the others, so that the image resulting becomes vague in form, though precise in idea. Thus a general name represents a quality common to a group of forms, which quality has a precise signification to our minds, though unconformable to any special sensation.

Names, once given, rapidly fill out as our information increases, and from a single quality come to denote a group of abstract qualities. Thus the name collects within itself several less general names, of which it becomes the substitute. Such substitutes are what we term ideas. These, then, are mental images of abstractions which have no sensational existence, but result from an original analysis of groups of sensations, and a subsequent synthesis of the qualities thus obtained.*

There are certain general characters which fail to produce distinct impressions. Of these is the notion of number. We can get no mental image of a composite number, as, for instance, 36. But unity may associate itself in our mind with a physical object. Now 36 is simply a substitute in our mind for 35 and unity, and we may trace back our idea to a series of 36 separate substitutions by which the human mind has advanced from the level of observation to a composite abstraction. The science of mathematics is entirely made up from an extension of this principle of substitution, which is mathematically extensible into infinity. We cannot conceive of the totality of an infinite series, but simply of its necessity, the mind finding itself in a path which has evidently no end.

The sensations which we have experienced have the property of spontaneously reviving in the mind. These reproductions are less energetic and precise than the original, and may be named images. They vary greatly in force and pre-

* Les ideés sont, comme les sensations, des manières d'etre de l'ame.—Condillac's *Logique*, p. 83.

cision in different persons and under different circumstances. The image may become so strong as to be mistaken for the corresponding sensation, at least momentarily. The idea of externality in the image is usually suppressed by a rectification, generally the presence of existing sensations, which pronounces it internal. If the rectification be lacking, only the illusion remains, thus producing a case of hallucination. Various reductives act to overcome this result, such as a suppression of the exciting sensation, reminiscences, and general judgments. If all reductives are annulled, mental alienation results.

As instances of the precision which images may sometimes attain, chess-players, who play without seeing the board, profess to have before them, projected upon space, an image of the board with all its pieces properly placed. So, certain painters can place an image of their sitter in the accustomed chair, and paint from it as distinctly as from the reality. In like manner a precise image of the whole musical performance will often affect a musician on seeing the notation of a tune.

There is great difference of ability in persons in making their images seem real. Goethe could produce in himself a complete illusion at will, for instance, appearing to see a fantastic flower which had no real existence out of his mind. In the reverie preceding sleep, this frequently occurs. Sensation is then dormant and mental images assume the distinct prominence of sensations, becoming complete hallucinations.* Such distinct images will overcome real sensations. A German physican, named Gruithuisen, who closely observed his power of producing images, saw them projected with such apparent reality as to hide the furniture from sight.†

A French soldier, who became nervously excited from witnessing an execution, gradually became imbued with the idea that he himself was to be executed. From being a mere fancy this grew into a complete hallucination. He saw what seemed real preparations, heard what seemed real voices, and thus gradually passed from a healthy condition into mental aliena-

*Maury, *Le Sommeil*, p. 458. †Baillarger, *Des Hallucinations*, p. 383.

tion, taking to flight and wounding the companion who came in search of him.*

The mind appears to be a collection of individual images, as the body is of cells. These may arise after long intervals, even if dormant during the intervening period. Their aptness to revive is increased by extreme attention to the original sensation, or by its repetition. There appears, in fact, to be a competition or strife in the mind for survival of its images, a real case of natural selection, and that image is sure to arise whose prominence in the mind, and harmony with exciting circumstances, give it an overbalancing force.

Thus there is a perpetual conflict of images and ideas for preponderance, the result depending on the internal condition and the influence of external circumstances. The great mass of our sensations do not exist as express images, but as dull consecutive tendencies. In fact, a thing seen but once leaves a much more precise image than things of frequent occurrence. It is simply the difference between the precise object signified by a proper name, and the vague image recalled by a common or collective name.†

Images, while generally weak as compared with sensations, may acquire concentration in emotion, and strongly approximate to reality. There are several remarkable instances extant of this power of recalling in a concentrated form long dormant and faint impressions. Thus, there is the case of a young, uneducated woman, who, in the delirium of illness, spoke passages of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. On searching into the origin of this strange fact, it was found that her uncle had, nine years previously, been in the habit of repeating these passages in her hearing, though they had made no conscious impression on her mind.‡ Of the same character is the story of the sick girl who, in her illness, spoke only Welsh, a

* *Annales Medico Psychologiques*, 4th series, ii., p. 238.

† A la vérité les idées que je me forme des choses sensibles sont confuses; je n'en marque les rapports qu' imparfaitèment. Mais je n'ai qu'a faire quelques abstractions pour avoir des idées distinctes, et pour apercevoir des rapports plus exactes.—*Traités des Sensations*, Condillac, p. 414.

‡ Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, vol. 1, p. 117.

language which she had spoken in her early life, but had long forgotten.*

There is no reason to believe that images ever revive spontaneously. There is always something in the existing circumstances, or in the passing train of thought which, if closely analyzed, will explain the most unexpected vagaries of recollection. There is as precise a connection between the various images of our mind as between the various forms of a landscape, and the most incongruous recollections will often touch or overlap each other. The act of recollection depends as greatly upon the connection in time as on the connection in character of the images. Though usually we fail to attend to the steps by which we pass from thought to thought, yet we can often perceive the mental connection of the most discordant images, every excited image arousing others linked in some way to it.

Thus, Sir William Hamilton, happening to think of Ben Lomond, there next rose in his mind the thought of the Prussian system of education. On seeking to trace what possible connection there could be between these widely separated thoughts, he remembered that on last visiting the mountain he met a German with whom he had some conversation. It became evident that his mind had passed rapidly over the thoughts of German, Germany, Prussia, by a series of rapid and unnoticed steps, and that Prussia called up the images connected with the name, of which the most prominent was that of the educational system. Hence this ended the closely linked chain.†

In all such cases as close a link might be discovered, each image touching another, but the movement from one to another being rapid and unnoticed, till an image is reached sufficiently vivid to assume a preponderating force, and aid the train by rising into conscious prominence. Thus the mind of an educated individual consists essentially of a vast congeries of images, existing simultaneously, the direct result

* Macnish, *Philosophy of Sleep*, p. 55.

† Lectures, etc., vol. 1, p. 353.

of previous sensations, or of a process of mental analysis and synthesis applied to sensations, producing ideal combinations as intricate, mysterious, and remote in character from their elements as are any of the results of chemistry.* These images reappear in the exact connection in which they were acquired, each image or idea of which we become conscious being linked to others which were acquired at the same time or are otherwise connected with it. These connected images are often dimly present to consciousness, even when we are closely considering their related idea, and as soon as our attention is turned from the latter the more pressing of the former leaps into its place. Or, as in the last illustration, here may be connected with the active image a series of others, linked together like a continuous chain, and, instead of the nearer links of this chain arising, the act of consciousness may pass with rapidity from one to another, only stopping on arriving at one which has affected the mind with peculiar force. Only by close attention, sometimes not then, can we recall these intermediate steps.

But the outer world of fact is also playing on our mind through the organs of sensation, each touch from without harmonizing with, and recalling, some point in its infinite wealth of imagery. Otherwise total unconsciousness could never be replaced by consciousness, for all force would be lost capable of calling any portion of our mental machinery into action. But as soon as our senses are opened to impressions from the outer world, these rush in, forcibly enter the chambers of the mind, and arouse its dormant energies.

During partial obliteration of the senses, as in sleep, the peculiar powers of the mind are frequently in active play, though without the directing rein of judgment. Images, perhaps excited by slight impressions through the partly locked senses, arise in the most incongruous succession, with

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* Toutes les opérations de l'ame, considérées dans leur origine, sont également simples, car chacune n'est alors qu'une perception. Mais ensuite elles se combinent pour agir de concert, et forment des opérations composées.—*Des Connoissances humaines*, Condillac, p. 159.

all the vividness of reality, and form strange dream combinations with no repression from our waking sense of the fitness of things.

Even when fully awake, in certain abnormal conditions of the system, an image will become more vivid than any existing sensation, and appear as if received through the senses, thus forming a true hallucination. In the somnambulist the internal mental play becomes abnormally excited, the whole body obeys the directive force of incoherent and unreined images, and the outer senses lend their aid to the protection of the sleep-walker from injury.

One of the most remarkable of the abnormal conditions of the mind is that occasional state in which all its native imagery is for the time obliterated. As an instance of this condition we may mention the case of a Russian gentleman whose power of recollection appeared to die out backward, until only remembrance of his infancy was left. It returned to him, after a time, in the reverse direction, until his memory became completely restored. A more striking case is that of a young American lady who, after a prolonged sleep, forgot all she knew. Her mind was a complete blank, and she had to commence to study again like a child. After a few months, during which she had made some progress in her new course of study, she fell into a similar sleep, and on waking found her original condition restored, and all her secondary instruction obliterated. These changes from one condition to another became frequent, and the family needed to conform to her separate conditions precisely as they would have adapted themselves to two separate persons.*

Many other cases are extant of this peculiar phase of mentality. It appears sometimes temporarily in somnambulism, and even in drunkenness. The mind seems in this state to possess two distinct groups of images, entirely disconnected, those of one group failing to touch those of the other. Hence if one be set in operation each image only recalls other images of the same series, and fails to cross the chasm dividing the

* Macnish, p. 113.

vo series. But after a dreamless sleep the exterior impressions may arouse an image of the original series, awaking it to ill play, while the other remains in abeyance. One of the ıost noticeable results of this condition is the fact that two istinct moral personalities seem capable of existing in the ıme individual. For certainly the continuous revival of a ılated group of images forms the continuity of a distinct ıoral person. If in the second temporary state any instance f immorality should occur it would become a curious prob-ım how to place the burden of responsibility. But leaving ırther consideration of this phase of the subject we will glance t the origin of this mental store of imagery, by examining the uter conditions of sensation, and the peculiarities of the ner-ous system.

The exciting cause in the outer world, whatever it may be, ı a quite distinct matter from the sensation. Out from the entral brain proceed countless telegraphic nerves, which are ensitive to the slightest exercise of exterior force, and in-antly report to the brain the conditions of this force. From ıese reports are built up in the brain mental images of the uter world, and from a mental combination of these images leas are formed.

Much yet needs to be discovered in regard to the process f receiving sensations. Of only sight and sound have we ny considerable knowledge. Thus, in very deep sounds we an distinguish successive sensations, each swelling and falling. ıs the sound grows more acute these sensations approach and verlap each other, forming a continuous note. The nearer ıe centres of these swelling and falling elements approach ıe more acute the sound. But each swell and fall embrace umerous inseparable sensations, and there are in each sensa-on of acute sound an enormous number of undistinguished lementary sensations. The sensation of sight is similar in ondition. We have here clear evidence of the vast number f separate sensations in any durable impression, from the fact ıat we can clearly perceive a flash of almost inconceivable revity, and from our knowledge of the utterly immense num-er of vibrations of light in a single second of time.

The sensations of smell and taste are not readily reducible to their elements, and need to be separated from sensations of touch before we can properly consider them. Taste arises from the action of dissolved or liquified food on the extremities of special nerves. The liquid substance appears to penetrate the skin and probably experiences chemical change through the action of the interior fluids. Chemical action gives off force, which assumes a condition dependant upon the surroundings. It becomes heat, light, electricity, magnetism, etc., according to circumstances. Here it becomes a nerve excitor, and like its kindred forces of light and sound, in the eye and ear, causes the nervous current and originates sensation. Smell is a similar action of gaseous material within the nasal passages, the gas probably combining with oxygen in contact with the nerve extremities, and yielding force which acts as above.

Exterior nature is a vast congregation of diverse conditions, each of which results from and yields some form of force. Thus, wherever we are, radiant beams of force from countless sources beat upon our bodies. These forces have broken their way through the recipient surface, have caused the formation of special avenues of conduction within, and have aided greatly or wholly in producing the wonderful central organ, in which all the avenues culminate, and which has the inexplicable faculty of converting physical force into mental imagery.*

Each of the four special senses is a special idiom, constructed to represent a single order of facts. Thus the constant beams of light, emanating either directly or by reflection from all substances, have been met by the formation of a peculiarly adapted organ of sensation. This organ, at first a few pigment cells, produced by the direct influence of light on the animal substance, has grown in complexity in advancing organisms into that wonderful organ, the human eye. So the vibrations of the atmosphere have been utilized for sensation by the gradual formation of a yet more complicated organ, the human ear. In like manner fluid and gaseous substances have, by

* See Spencer's *Principles of Biology* for the details of this hypothesis.

their penetrating influences, and their chemical action, modified certain of the nerve extremities so as to render these capable of conveying to the brain nerve currents derived from their yielded forces.

These four organs of sensation make us aware of all the radiant forces of exterior nature sufficiently powerful to affect special changes in the conditions of the animal system, and also of those chemical forces capable of production by substances in a condition to penetrate the skin and come into direct contact with the nerves. The remaining forces of sufficient vigor to open a passage to the brain enter the body through the medium of the sense of touch, which is thus a general idiom fitted to represent a wide diversity of facts.

Touch is a complicated phenomenon, but may be reduced by analysis into sensations of contact, pressure, and temperature, affecting either the skin or the muscles, and increasing with excess into sensations of pain. There are several blanks in the theory which need to be filled out before we can lay claim to a full comprehension of the mode of operation of this sense. But this, at least, seems probable for all the senses, that the nervous action which precedes a sensation is in all cases a displacement of the molecules of the nerves, produced by the direct action of vibrating or impelling forces on their extremities, and conveyed inward by a successive displacement to the sensitive organs within. This nerve excitation is probably similar in all the senses, the differences in the result being caused by the variety of possible groupings of the elementary impulses, of which there are vast numbers included within every complete consciousness of sensation.

The nearer we approach the true elementary sensation the more do the results, as, for instance, heat and mechanical stimulus, coincide. We can scarcely distinguish a prick with a very fine needle from the touch of a spark of fire.* Ordinary stimuli touch and affect a whole group of nerves, there being, probably, a different order of touch in the action of heat and pressure. The nerve conducts with equal facility

* Taine's *Intelligence*, p. 43.

at whatever point it may be touched, and the resulting sensation is the same. Thus, in striking the nerve at the elbow a severe sensation of pain is felt in the little finger. So, in the case of an amputated limb, excitation of the remaining portion of the nerve is referred to the lost extremities, and so far as feeling goes, the limbs seem to be intact.

Sensations excited in the nerve-centres may be likewise referred to the nerve extremities, and thus our own mental images appear to have an exterior existence. The case of hallucination is in direct evidence of this; and the tendency of the brain is, when relieved from the influx of corrective sensations, as in sleep, to refer its imagery to the extremities, and give to brain-creations all the force of reality.

The consciousness of sensation brings us to the limits of the mental world. Between this and the physical rolls a deep, unfathomed stream, over which no bridge has ever been thrown. What links of connection may pass under the water we know not, and perhaps never will know. At five places, the senses, we have reached the shores of this stream from the outer world. In the cases of sight and hearing we have made some further advance, and may perceive these, like primitive rocks, passing under the water, but are unaware what change they undergo before they emerge on the other side as sensation.*

Before reviewing M. Taine's views on this mystery, we will consider the character of the encephalon, and trace those peculiarities essential to our purpose which physiologists have discovered in its action. This organ consists of an intricate plexus of the inner ends of the conducting nerves, in intimate connection with a grayish cellular substance, essentially different from the fibrous substance. In the cerebral hemispheres this grayish layer is folded and creased to such an extent that a surface of considerable width is contained within narrow limits. This organ receives a large proportion of the total blood, and is thus vitalized to a much greater extent than any other portion of the body.

* Taine's *Intell.*, p. 152.

The white substance of the brain-lobes is simply conducting, and consists of the inner extremities of the nerves of sensation and motion, of fibres connecting the different lobes, and of those running between the separate portions of the same lobe. The faculty of receiving sensations and the powers of image production are supposed to be confined to the gray cortical cells. It is probable that these cells, in their fully developed condition, are in direct connection with the ends of the fibres, receive the motive forces brought in by these fibres, and either transform motive forces into, or by their action produce from these forces the phenomena of consciousness, the cells being destroyed in the effort. The various portions of this ganglionic, or gray, nervous matter, have different functions, ranging from the co-ordinating influence of the sympathetic ganglia, through the advancing functions of the spinal chord and the cerebellum, to those of the cerebrum, in which alone resides consciousness, that culminating faculty of nature.

Numerous experiments have been made of removing various portions of the brain, with the most interesting results, giving us important information as to the functions of its various parts. When the *medulla oblongata* alone is preserved there are no longer sensations, strictly so called. A cry will be given if the animal be injured, when only this bulb is retained, but it is evidently a reflex cry only, and is not connected with sensation. This may be seen in the case where the annular protuberance is retained, when the cry is given in a markedly different tone, showing that here pain is experienced.*

The possession of this protuberance is the sufficient and necessary condition for the sensations of touch, hearing, and taste, and that of the *corpora bigemina* for sight. There is probably a centre, also, for the reception of sensations of smell. If these organs be intact, images and apparent objects may be observed, even if the outer organs be lost. There is a case extant of a blind Jewess who appeared to see extraordinary objects; yet, on examination, her optic nerves were found to be atrophied, the sensation thus being entirely internal.†

* Vulpian, *Leçons sur la Physiologie du Système Nerveux*, p. 55. † Esquirol.

At these centres sensation arrives, in its crude state, as a progressive motive force affecting the conducting fibres. Arriving here it is suddenly removed from the domain of physical forces and becomes a mental force, the power of awakening consciousness, and of entering the mind as a distinct and continuous energy. The gray substance of the cerebral hemispheres seems to serve as reservoirs for the reception of these forces of sensation. In it they sink and are lost. In it they combine and enter into new relations. From it they are called up at will, perhaps to the centres of sensation, and become again apparent to consciousness, in the indistinct form of a mental image, or the combined relation of an idea. The intelligence is closely related to the volume and extent of this gray substance, and its action appears to be the sufficient and necessary condition of all mental operations outside of crude sensations.

Numerous experiments have been made upon these cerebral lobes, with important results. Animals have lived many days with the lobes entirely removed. In one case, a hen lived ten months with the entire cerebrum cut away. Every evidence of intelligence, memory, and prescience was lost, yet she continued fat, strong, and healthy. She acted precisely like a machine, and was to all intents and purposes an organic machine which Nature had set in operation, but from which the directive mental faculty had been removed. She would stand where placed in a stupid, unobservant condition. If deprived of food for several days and then placed on a heap of corn, she made no attempt to eat, and would stand stupidly in water without drinking. The food had to be forced into her throat, and was swallowed as a simple organic operation, she taking pebbles indifferently for corn.*

The body thus appears to be a perfectly arranged machine, needing only for its operations the organs of digestion, circulation, etc., and the action of the co-ordinating and sympathetic nerve-centres, so that the cerebral hemispheres may be removed, taking with them all that can be distinctively termed

* Taine's *Intell.*, p. 168.

mind, intelligence, or spirit, and the body retains its powers of organic operation.* It is, thus, as much a machine as is the steam-engine, and the mind its engineer. Remove the mental organ without injuring any of the fine wheels or valves of the machine, and it is still capable of operation, if fed with fuel by some exterior engineer, taking the place of the lost internal directive faculty. This strange fact, then, bears with no force on the question of the immortality of this directive agent. The body is a perfectly arranged instrument by which the mind is enabled to come into contact with the external world, and to feed itself with the spiritual forces inflowing from this world. But the machine has no direct dependence on the mind for its operation. It needs but fuel in the shape of food, and a proper attention to the integrity of its parts, to its perfect action. These the mind, as the directing agent, supplies it; but, as above seen, they may be supplied by an exterior mind, and the machine continue to run—in this case as a simple machine only, and without eliminating thought.

The cerebral hemispheres then, have no necessary or direct connection with the organic operations of the body. They are built up by the action of the whole body, as a special result of its action, and in excess of its organic functions, a product which forms no essential part of the machine. In these hemispheres the forces constantly flowing in from physical nature are changed by some mysterious operation into intelligence. Thus the cerebrum is a separate machine of a higher order, and possessed of the lofty power of eliminating mental food from physical force. The mind, thus formed, is utterly distinct from the body as a whole, depending only on the integrity of the cerebrum, and the question of its faculty of existence, separate from its cerebral organ, is in nowise affected by the retention of the bodily forces after mental death.

Any injury to the lobes affects the intelligence or memory, and they may be removed, piece by piece, with a gradual

* Je reconnais même qu'un certain nombre de phénomènes psychiques persistent chez les pigeons auxquels on a enlevé le cerveau, le cervelet, et une partie du mésocéphale. Brown Sequard's *Journal de la Physiologie*, 1861. Vol. iv., p. 551.

diminution of the mental faculties. But each lobe appears to contain the full sum of the mental powers. Thus, a person named Vacquerie, in 1821, having lost the left lobe of the brain, retained his intelligence intact through the action of the right hemisphere alone.* Berard gives an instance in which the two anterior lobes were crushed, yet the reasoning powers and sensibilities were retained. Considerable portions of the lobes may be removed, front or back, above or below, in animals, without loss of function, the faculties and perception weakening, and finally, being all lost together.† A frog, seven-eighths of whose cerebral lobes were removed, was found to catch flies with all its natural keenness, and appeared to retain, in a diminished degree, all its faculties, though much less lively than in its natural state. But on an entire removal of the brain all voluntary motion was lost, and all manifestation of mentality.‡

Thus the various portions of the gray substance of the brain appear to perform identical functions, and to form a group of repeating and multiplying organs.§ This is evidenced in the fact that one hemisphere, or part of a hemisphere, if large enough, is capable of acting alone, and supplying the place of the rest. The brain appears to be a sort of polypus, all its elements having the same functions, each element composed of an undetermined number of cells and fibres, being capable, by its action, of giving rise to all normal images and all their associations, hence to all mental operations. ‖

One element of the hemispheres repeats the action of the sensory centres, and transmits it to the other elements. Hence the development of the cortical layer, increasing the number of these elements, increases the extent of possible intelligence.

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* Longet, *Anatomie et Physiologie du Systeme Nerveux*, p. 666.

† Flourens, *Récherches Experimentales*, p. 99.

‡ Taine's *Intell.*, p. 175.

§ Professor Humphrey, in a late lecture before the Royal Institution, considers "that all the parts of the cerebral hemispheres combine in each of the efforts of control, consciousness, memory, and other acts; that all suffer alike from these efforts, and alike need the restoring changes which take place in sleep."

‖ Taine, p. 176.

The image, when widely affecting the cerebral elements, strongly affects consciousness, perhaps through the medium of the sensory centres, though more probably it only returns fully to these centres in the case of hallucination or dreaming. It grows the weaker as the number of elements affected decrease, and gradually becomes weakened below the reach of consciousness. It still subsists, however, in the probably enormous number of elements, and may be suddenly reproduced by competent cause.

All the gray, nervous substance may possess similar powers, the action being elementary and imperceptible in the spinal chord and the other lower ganglia, while in the protuberance perceptible sensations are excited, and in the cerebral lobes this sensation is repeated indefinitely by a series of mutually excitable elements. In these some form of excitement is produced by each sensation, and this action, whatever its nature, is retained in its original form in some portion of or throughout the immense number of elements, being constantly capable of re-excitation, so as to occupy the brain in superior degree, and thus to become a reviving sensation or image.

Beneath conscious sensations descend an immense number of analogous mental conditions, more and more removed from consciousness, this successive lowering corresponding to the successive attenuation of the nervous system, and leading to the foot of the zoological series. Thus as the human body represents in its gradual development the whole extent of the animal kingdom, so the human intelligence runs through the whole gamut of animal intelligence, and culminates in its superior powers of abstract thought, with all their concomitant relations. It must be borne strictly in mind that the brain is but the organ through which the mind affects the body, and that the loss of this action upon the body, through injury to the brain, does not argue nor necessitate any positive or final loss of mentality.

In vain we attempt to bridge the abyss already noticed as existing between the physical and mental, between the crude nerve excitation and its related mental action. Taine argues, however, that though we cannot reduce the two ideas together,

the facts may be reducible. Two notions of one cause seem often essentially different when we gain knowledge of them in two different ways. Ideas of the same object received by two different senses are often difficult to reconcile, and could not be made to agree had we not other means of learning their connection.

Now our mode of gaining an idea of nervous motion is absolutely different from that of gaining an idea of sensation. The points of view are widely separate, and we have no means of learning their relations. In consciousness we perceive the action from a direct point of view. In external perception we see it indirectly. The molecular movement is only a sign of the mental event. The only real events in nature, so far as our comprehension goes, are sensations and its elements. These overlap each other like the text of a book its interlinear translation, the physical element of sensation being the text, its mental result the translation into a widely different language. But the text commences plainly readable at its commencement, growing indistinct and finally illegible as we trace it inward from the surface. The translation commences unreadable, and grows distinct only at its termination. At no point are we able to perceive the relation between the two languages, though convinced that it exists.

Modern metaphysics rudely overturn many of our cherished ideas of human mentality. The notion of the Ego, for instance, as a continuous existence in which events succeed each other with the distinct and unchangeable relation of cause and effect, is boldly pronounced a delusion. It is claimed that force only denotes the succession of events without any traceable relation or any necessary succession.* The Ego, in this view, is a simple succession of sensations, not a vital whole but a constantly broken and reproduced state from sensation

* The Law of Causation is but the familiar truth that invariability of succession is found by observation to obtain between every fact in nature and some other fact which has preceded it. The only notion of a cause is such a notion as can be gained by experience.—Mill's *Logic*, vol. i., p. 117.

to sensation. This, however, is but a hypothesis, based on the fact that we cannot trace the absolute connection between sensations, and does not disprove their possible relation as cause and effect. In fact this relation cannot be clearly proved nor disproved as long as the connection between perception and sensation remains an absolute mystery.*

A cause acting from without, and consciousness acting from within, must appear different and irreconcilable. The points of view are so widely removed, and events seen so absolutely on two distinct sides, that it is impossible to get round the corners and discover that these are but the two sides of a single fact. They appear instead two separate facts.

This intricate work, this vaguely translated organic mystery, is read by physiologists only from the beginning, by psychologists only from the end. Each sees but one language, and each argues solely from the indications of his imperfect text. They are yet far asunder, and may never meet, the two languages being apparently irreducible. Meanwhile each argues stoutly from his own point of view, unwilling to acknowledge that all their facts may meet and combine into one great series somewhere in the unseen.

The forces of exterior nature, the physiological facts of nervous excitation, pass over this mysterious interval and become mental facts and forces, forming the basis of our knowledge. All we know is included in the word sensation. Our idea of a body simply consists of the connection between a number of sensations. Thus, its form and size are to us but sensations of sight; its tangible form and size but complex sensations of touch; its weight and hardness, muscular sensations; its color, a visual sensation; the thought of any of these sensations makes us think of the others, and the whole combine into a mixed state of consciousness, which may be termed a complex idea.†

* Tout les exemples qui confirment une vérité générale, de quelque nombre qu'ils soient, ne suffisent pas pour établir la nécessité de cette même vérité; car il ne suit pas que ce qui est arrivé arrivera toujours de même.—Leibnitz, *Nouveaux Essais*, preface.

† Mill's *System of Logic*, vol. i., p. 62.

This table is brown, long, wide, three feet high, judging by the eye. That is, it forms a little colored spot in the field of vision; in other words, produces a certain sensation on the optic nerve. It weighs ten pounds. That is, it produces a muscular sensation, less vigorous than would be produced by a weight of eleven pounds, more so than a weight of nine pounds would produce. It is hard and square, which simply mean that if pushed, or felt by the hand, it will excite other muscular sensations. Examine it closely as we will we find nothing else than the impressions which it makes upon us. We know nothing of bodies but the sensations they excite in us; know them simply as the unknown cause of our sensations. When we say that a body has existed in the absence of our sensations, we mean simply that, if in that time we had been in a certain position, we should have had sensations which we have not had. Hence philosophers like Berkeley have maintained, with a show of truth, that matter is a creature of the imagination, and that the whole universe of sense is reducible to an order of sensations.*

Thus our notion of external perception is a true hallucination. We only really know the sensation; simply that some feeling has become present to our consciousness which was not there before.† Our mind is constantly occupied in the reception of sensations, in the combination of the resulting images into ideas, and the recalling these images and ideas as apparent sensations, their illusionary character, only known from the simultaneous existence of real sensations, from their vagueness, and their intimate connection with a long train of less vivid images.

The mind has a general tendency to hallucination, through the predominance of the action of the brain-lobes over external action. But the vivid sensations constantly making their way in have a sharpness of outline seldom possessed by

* Taine's *History of English Literature*, vol. ii., p. 483.

† All visible things are emblems; what thou seest is not there on its own account; strictly taken is not there at all. Matter exists only spiritually, and to represent some idea and body it forth.—Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, book i., ch. 11.

images, and thus rectify all our mental illusions. Even a distinct and vivid image thus becomes unreal when negatived by a real sensation, and generally only in dreams, when sensation is dormant, can our illusions gain the strength of reality. The act of sensation is thus analogous to that of recollection. The first is an excitation of the consciousness produced from without, the second the same action produced from within, perhaps in both cases through an action produced in the centres of the organs of sense; and the only positive difference is in the greater vagueness of the latter class of causes.

The act of sensation may be represented as a large bell rung in the sensory organs by a pull on the connecting nerves from the world without. This peal sets thousands of little bells ringing in the hemispheres of the brain. The ringing of these little bells decreases and we fail to hear them. If our attention be directed inward we again hear their peals, more "faint and far" than originally. If our attention be entirely withdrawn from externals, as in sleep, the action of the little bells may so increase as to set the large bell ringing, and so our images become virtual sensations.

The only difference between these and real sensation is in their lack of harmony with externals. Constantly troops of sensations are marching in upon our brain from without, all combined and in harmonious succession. If an image intrudes itself among these it is at once seen to be a stranger from another land, out of harmony with the actual sensations. Only when a well disciplined and organized troop of images take strong posession of the sensory centres, and overpower the real sensations present, is a waking hallucination possible.

Recollection is a stage of rectification. The image is really contemporary with the sensation, but it has a duration and extremities, and fails to exactly cover the present sensation. If it overlap it behind we have memory; if before, prevision. Images likewise overlap each other in the order of their reception, and we can thus place them in their proper relations in time. Images will sometimes impress us with a sense of present existence, but as they continue other images will thrust themselves between them and the present, pushing them fur-

ther and further back, till their real relative position is attained. Their actual position in relation to the regular movement of time we have no real knowledge of. Our idea of it is but an arithmetical conclusion.

From the preceding considerations we perceive that our idea of the existence of matter means simply the existence of certain possibilities and necessities of sensation, influences from unknown causes affecting our nervous conditions, and referred, by long experience, to the extremities of the conducting nerves, or to exterior positions.* But we find it impossible to attain a practical belief in the hypothesis that these sensations have no physical cause, that they are solely mental in their origin and succession. We are forced to ascribe a positive material existence to exterior nature, an existence that radiates forces, which forces affect us mentally as sensations. Matter is thus, in all probability, a permanent possibility of sensation, existing independent of our senses, our idea of it resulting from a mental combination of the various forces with which it affects us into images possessed of geometrical and other relations.

These images form complete wholes, being the intimate combination of harmonizing forces. Were the characters of our sensory organs changed, complete wholes would still be formed, but essentially different in appearance. But as the whole universe would change in accordance the same harmony would continue. Thus our conception of the real character of what we designate matter is an illusion produced by the action of radiant forces on our mentality. But our simultaneous conception of the relations between these illusions is a correct image of nature, and yields us ideas of real relations existing between illusory sensations. We have then

* As our conception of a body is that of an unknown exciting cause of sensations, so our conception of a mind is that of an unknown recipient or percipient, of them: and not of them alone, but of all our other feelings. All which we are aware of, even in our minds, is a certain "thread of consciousness;" a series of feelings, that is, of sensations, thoughts, emotions, and volitions, more or less numerous and complicated.—Mill's *System of Logic*, vol. i, p. 68.

atively true, absolutely false, conception of nature, which s many possible phases of appearance as there are possible s of receiving sensations of force.

ll changes occurring in our conceptions of objects are uced by loss or gain of possibilities of sensation, that is, ariation in the conditions of the forces affecting objects, ore simply, by alteration of bodies. Beyond our senses, n their absolute condition, bodies exist as distinct groups otive forces and tendencies to motion; and it is only the ly entertained idea that motion cannot exist separately substance moved, which inclines us to accept the primary nce of our senses, and believe in the existence of a mate- ubstratum to the universe of forces.

ll science consists in the investigation of the relations be- n our sensational ideas of the exterior world. All deduc- is a mental chemistry in which these ideas are analyzed, heir elements combined into new forms, which may or not conform to reality.

II.—1. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, vol. lxx, 1780, to vol. cviii, 1818.

emoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society of London, for 1822.

nalyse de la Vie et des Travaux de Sir William Herschel, par M. ARAGO. *Annuaire*, 1842.

istoire de l'Astronomie Moderne, par M. DELAMBRE. 2 vols. 4to. 1821.

N glancing over the history of science, we see some names stand out, as it were, beyond others that have labored in ame fields; and such individuals, by their discoveries improvements, have formed epochs in the progress of ive knowledge. It would seem, at first view, as if these made immense strides in their efforts to unfold the mys-

teries of Nature; and that scientific progress is not gradual, as up an inclined plane, but rather intermittent, like ascending by a flight of stairs. But many times this is more apparent than real. Discoveries are almost continually being made, and science is only in need occasionally of a mind of that peculiar nature which is required to put together the facts already known, and to show their connection and dependence, to deduce from them important consequences in relation to the development of knowledge. Such minds, however, generally possess transcendent ability for making discoveries—changing the unknown into the known. To this class belong Thales, Archimedes, Galileo, Kepler, Newton, and Laplace.

There are others, however, who by their improvements in instruments of research, and the invention of new ones, have added almost immeasurably to our knowledge of the nature of the physical universe. As belonging to this class, we may mention Aristarchus, Tycho Brahe, Galileo, William Gascoigne,* Sir William Herschel, and the inventors of the spectroscope. Herschel, by his improvements in the construction of large reflecting telescopes, and by his great skill in using them, wrought changes in our knowledge respecting the extent and physical constitution of the solar system and sidereal heavens, which have never been equalled, perhaps, since Galileo first turned his almost magic tube towards the bodies which occupy the celestial spaces.

William Herschel was, without doubt, one of the greatest astronomers of any age or country. For many years he has been the principal authority in astronomy for the general reader, and even for writers of school-books on astronomy; yet, less is known of his private history by the mass of readers, than of almost any other distinguished individual of modern times. He seems to have descended from obscure ancestors, and of his own individual history but little has come to us. Unless the man of science records his own trials and failures, his biographers find it very difficult or impossible

* The inventor of the micrometer. See Grant's *Hist. Phys. Astronomy*, p. 450.

to give us much information respecting them. We think that such minds are in general too reserved in relation to leaving us a correct account of all the trials of their early history. As Laplace says, "The knowledge of the method which has guided a man of genius is not less serviceable to the progress of the science, and even to his own glory, than his discoveries;" and since the method which he has pursued is often experimental and is marked by repeated failures, the record of these would save many minds the trouble of travelling the same, or nearly the same, road.

William Herschel was born in Hanover, on the 15th of November, 1738. We know but little about the ancestors of this great man.* We learn that his great-grandfather, Abraham Herschel, lived at Mähren, from which place he was expelled on account of his strong attachment to the Protestant faith; that Isaac, his son, was a farmer in the vicinity of Leipzig; and that Isaac's oldest son, Jacob Herschel, disappointed his fathers's earnest desire that he should become an agriculturist; but he had a natural aptitude and fondness for music, which induced him to embrace the profession of a musician, and to establish himself in Hanover.

Jacob Herschel was the father of the astronomer, William Herschel. He is said to have been an eminent musician, and as much distinguished for the good qualities of his heart as for the great talent which he possessed. He was in humble circumstances, and he could not, therefore, give his children (six boys and four girls) a very complete education. It would seem, however, that they inherited their father's musical talents, for they all became, by his care and instruction, excellent musicians. Jacob, the oldest, even acquired an unusual skill as a practical musician, and this procured for him the appointment of master of the band in a Hanoverian regiment, with which he passed over to England. William, the third son, remained, during this time, under the paternal roof. Here he

* M. Arago has collected all the accessible information respecting them, in his *Analysis of Herschel's Life and Works*, published in the *Annuaire* for 1842.

turned his attention to the fine arts, studied diligently the French language, and devoted, also, a part of his time to the study of metaphysics, for which he preserved a decided taste up to the end of his days.

In 1759, William Herschel, then twenty-one years of age, went to England with his oldest brother, Jacob, and not, says Arago, with his father, as is generally stated. Since Jacob had previously been in England, and had become somewhat acquainted with the manners and customs of the people, William's prospects for making a beginning there seemed to be favorable. Notwithstanding these apparently advantageous circumstances, young Herschel did not find either London or the country towns to afford him any resources, and the first two or three years following his expatriation were marked by many privations; but they were manfully borne. A mind like Herschel's, however, is not to be turned aside from the object of its pursuit till every available means has been tried. Honorable exertion seldom fails in an enlightened country to bring its just reward. Through some means Lord Durham had become acquainted with his musical talents and acquirements, and he engaged the young Hanoverian to instruct the musicians of an English regiment stationed on the frontiers of Scotland. Herschel's reputation now spread rapidly, and in the course of the year 1765, through the influence of a gentleman to whom his merits had become known, he was appointed organist at Halifax, in Yorkshire. The emoluments of this place, together with what he obtained by giving lessons in the town and country, secured to Herschel a respectable income, which enabled him to gratify, to a certain extent, the desire which he had for knowledge. His early education having been somewhat neglected from necessity, he now undertook to retrieve it. While he was in this place he applied himself to the study of Latin and Italian, and gained a knowledge of these languages with no other help than a grammar and a dictionary. He also found time to gain a smattering of Greek. But his efforts did not stop here. His desire for more extensive knowledge connected with his profession induced him to undertake the study of Dr. Robert Smith's

arned, though rather obscure, work on the mathematical eory of music. The author of this work supposed the reader quainted with both algebra and geometry,—sciences with ıich young Herschel was but little, if at all, familiar. To medy this defect in his education, he applied himself to the ıdy of these branches of mathematics, and it is said that he ry soon mastered them, so far, at least, as to answer his pur-se at that time.

Let us pause here for a moment to say that Herschel fol-wed the method of nature; that is, the method which nature ›ints out for the study of pure mathematics. Abstract math-natics is but an instrument with which the mind discovers the ıths of nature, after we have first observed her phenomena as to arrive at her general laws, which serve as a basis for ır reasoning; and certainly it would generally be a slow and dious process to learn how to use any instrument that we do ›t expect to employ for any practical purpose, or at least do ›t know when and where we shall so employ it. But when e feel the need of anything to help us forward in whatever e have undertaken, we can soon, and with comparative ease, ıake ourselves masters of it. We believe, and we could quote ıe opinions and experiences of several excellent mathe-ıatical scholars, if this were a suitable place, to sustain us, ıut, in general, mathematics (above arithmetic) is given as a ısk to students, and for which they have but little relish, /hen, in reality, such an instrument should be placed in their ands only when it is asked for, to enable them to carry on ıeir studies in those departments of inquiry which require ıch aid. First teach a knowledge of the phenomena of he natural world so far as it can be taught without the rinciple of mathematical science, and not leave the student ı doubt in regard to the conclusions.

In the year 1766, Herschel was appointed organist to the)ctagon Chapel at Bath. This was a more lucrative position han the one which he held at Halifax, but new obligations /ere connected with it. He was required to play almost con-tantly either at the oratorios, in the rooms at the baths, at the heatre, or in the public concerts. Besides this, his reputation

as a musician brought him through his patrons in the most fashionable circles in England numerous pupils, whom he could not refuse, to be instructed in his art. We might here pause to ask how it was possible, amid such incessant employment, and so many things to distract his attention, for him to continue his studies, which at Halifax seemed to demand an uncommon degree of resolution and perseverance, combined with extraordinary talent. But a mind which thirsts for knowledge will find time to acquire it, where one less desirous would see no opportunity.

We have already seen that music led Herschel to mathematics, and this, in its turn, led him to the science of optics, a department of natural philosophy which was the source of his illustrious career and the great reputation which he subsequently acquired. "The time finally arrived when his theoretic knowledge was to guide the young musician into a laborious application of principles quite foreign to his habits, and of which the brilliant success, as well as the excessive temerity, must excite reasonable astonishment."

While Herschel was residing at Bath, a reflecting telescope, two feet in length, fell into his hands. This little instrument showed him, as a different one, years before, had shown Galileo, numerous stars which the naked eye cannot discern: it showed him, also, terrestrial objects, well known to him, apparently much enlarged; and it revealed to him other things which the uninstructed imagination could never conceive of. The new field of knowledge, thus opened to him, interested him so much that he resolved to purchase for himself a similar telescope, though of larger size. To accomplish this he commissioned a friend in London to procure one for him, probably specifying what he could afford to pay for it. The answer from London was delayed some days, and Herschel's extreme anxiety caused those days to seem almost like years to him. When the answer did arrive, however, he found the price fixed by the optician too high for the means which he, a mere organist, could command. Herschel, like any other person under like circumstances, doubtless felt much disappointed, but he was not disheartened. The obsta-

cle thus unexpectedly thrown between him and the immediate gratification of his laudable desire would have been, to most minds, insurmountable, but not so to him. Indeed, one of the principal marks of a great mind is its ability to surmount great difficulties. We may suppose, with some probability of its truth, that Herschel's inability to purchase that telescope was the direct means of developing those qualities of his mental powers which enabled him to transcend in so great a degree what had previously been done in the construction of reflecting telescopes, and in thus opening up to us, by their great power, the means of acquiring a much more complete knowledge of the distant regions of the universe. However this may be, we know that the reply of the London optician stimulated Herschel to undertake the construction of a telescope with his own hands. "The musician of the Octagon Chapel rushes immediately into a multitude of experiments on metallic alloys that reflect light with the greatest intensity, on the means of giving the parabolic figure to the mirrors, on the causes that in the operation of polishing affect the regularity of the reflection, etc."* These labors, so perseveringly followed, brought their reward. In 1774, Herschel had the satisfaction of being able to examine the heavens with a five-foot Newtonian telescope, entirely the work of his own hands. The success which attended the experiment of constructing a telescope not only gave him confidence in his powers, but it attached him so strongly to the science of the stars that he willingly sacrificed a part of the emolument which his musical profession brought him, by limiting his professional engagements and the number of his pupils. His leisure was employed in constructing more powerful instruments, and he produced in succession reflecting telescopes of seven, eight, ten, and even twenty feet focus. We are informed, by good authority,† that Herschel constructed no fewer than two hundred seven-foot Newtonian reflectors, one hundred and fifty ten-foot, and eighty twenty-foot in focal length.

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* See *Annuaire pour* 1842, p. 253. † Brewster's *Optics*, p. 296.

We learn from M. Lalande* that "each time that Herschel undertakes to polish a mirror (of a telescope) he condems himself to ten, or twelve, or even fourteen hours of constant work. He does not quit his workshop for a minute, not even to eat, but receives from the hands of his sister that nourishment without which no one could undergo such prolonged fatigue. Nothing could induce Herschel to leave his work; for, according to him, if he did so it would be spoiled."

Herschel's labors in constructing telescopes were not vainly expended on useless apparatus which could exhibit no practically valuable results, for on the 13th of March, 1781, he discovered a new planet which proved to be on the confines of our system of that time. He had been engaged for more than a year in making a regular survey of the heavens, when on the evening of the day above mentioned, between ten and eleven o'clock, he saw a star which, by its apparent magnitude, attracted his particular attention. This star was the planet Uranus. The discovery was made with one of his seven-foot telescopes. This discovery was at first thought to be that of a new comet, but subsequent observations and calculations proved it to be a planet.

Dating from this important discovery, Herschel's reputation as a constructor of telescopes and as an astronomer spread throughout the world. George III., king of England, a friend to science, and much inclined to protect and patronise both men and things of Hanoverian origin, caused Herschel to be presented to him. He was charmed with the simple yet lucid and modest account which the astronomer gave of his repeated endeavors; he caught a glimpse of the glory that such an observer might reflect on his reign, and granted him a pension of three hundred guineas a year, and furnished him a residence near Windsor Castle, first at Clay Hall, and afterwards at Slough.† We need hardly mention that the anticipations of George III. were most completely realized. "We

* In a memoir printed in 1788, which forms a part of the preface to tome viii des *Ephémérides des mouvements célestes*.

† *Annuaire* for 1849, p. 255.

may confidently assert," says Arago, "with respect to the garden of the little house at Slough, that it is the place, in all the world, where the greatest number of discoveries in astronomy have been made. The name of that village will never perish. Science will transmit it religiously to our latest posterity."

We have now traced the career of Herschel from his early youth to that period in his life when his pecuniary trial may be said to be ended, and he is settled in a place where, under the patronage of the king, he can devote his whole time and energy to the prosecution of his studies and observations in astronomy and kindred sciences, to which he was destined to add numerous and important discoveries. The powerful telescopes which he employed enabled him to extend the boundaries of astronomical science vastly beyond what had been accomplished before him, so that for many years he was the principal authority in that department of astronomy which is dependent on observation. Henceforth we have little else to record than the numerous discoveries which he made. But the history of science can only possess a deep interest for those who have made science their special study, and we shall, therefore, not detain the reader with any details in relation to this part of William Herschel's career. He was thirty-six years of age when he finished his first telescope, and he reached the mature age of forty-three before he made his great discovery of the planet Uranus, which brought him into general notice as an astronomer among scientific men, and procured him the patronage of the king, which enabled him to devote his time wholly to his favorite science.

We thus see that Herschel may be said to have just begun his career as a scientific man and a discoverer at a period in life when most men have completed their discoveries. But he lived to a great age, and was able for a period of forty years to devote the energies of his great mind to the advancement of science. His life thus offers us a proof of the deduction from the observation of nature, that a thing which is slow in maturing retains its strength and vigor for a correspondingly long period.

The account of Herschel's observations and discoveries is found in his memoirs, presented to the Royal Society of London, and printed in that important collection known as the *Philosophical Transactions*. His contributions are contained in seventy-one memoirs, which are found in thirty-seven volumes of that series—from 1780 to 1818, inclusive, excepting the years 1813 and 1816. The memoirs of Herschel form some of the principal riches contained in the publications of the Royal Society. In the year 1822, a paper of his on the position of one hundred and forty-six double stars was published in the memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society of London.

Herschel's memoirs are, for the most part, extracts from his journals of observations at Slough, accompanied by brief remarks. These memoirs succeeded each other with great rapidity; and without the necessary explanation it may seem strange that Herschel was able to devote so much time to observation and experiment, and yet find time to write so extensively. He was enabled to do this, however, only by the help of his sister, Miss Caroline Lucretia Herschel, who went to England as soon as her brother became special astronomer to the king. She was appointed assistant astronomer, with a moderate salary. From that time she devoted her whole attention to the assistance of her brother and added through her labors not a little to his rapidly increasing scientific reputation. "Miss Caroline shared in all the night-watches of her brother with her eye constantly on the clock and the pencil in her hand; she, without exception, recorded all the observations; she afterwards made three or four copies, in separate registers; coördinated, classed, and analyzed them." Caroline Herschel, besides, had some reputation of her own as a discoverer, by the detection of several new comets, among them that of 1795, which has since been proved to be a return of Encke's comet. After the death of her illustrious brother, she retired to Hanover to the house of Johann Dietrich Herschel, a musician of great celebrity, and the last of William Herschel's brothers. She died at an advanced age (we believe about ninety-eight) in 1848.

Alexander Herschel, William's brother, was also his assistant. Alexander possessed unusual mechanical skill, that was ever at his brother's command, which enabled him to realize, without delay, any new idea which he conceived requiring the aid of a mechanic. When age and infirmities obliged Alexander Herschel to give up his profession as a musician, he retired from Bath, his place of residence, to Hanover, where his brother William very generously provided for him a comfortable subsistence during the remainder of his days.

So celebrated a person as Herschel could not fail to attract the attention of the various learned societies of Europe, and he was accordingly elected a member of the principal academies. In the year 1786, the honorary degree of doctor of laws was conferred on him by the University of Oxford. This dignity was conferred on him without any of the usual formalities or pecuniary contributions which were customary in that learned body. In 1816, he was named a Knight of the Guelphic Order of Hanover. According to the English custom, he was henceforth called Sir William Herschel.

Sir William married Mary Pitt, the widow of John Pitt, Esq., a lady of considerable fortune, and with her he lived to the end of his days, blessed with the happiness of a congenial companion who added greatly to his domestic felicity. They had one child only, the late distinguished philosopher, Sir John Frederick William Herschel, who was born at Slough in the year 1792.

Herschel is best known to the general reader, perhaps, as the constructor of a giant reflecting-telescope forty feet in length, and four feet in diameter. This was begun in 1785, at the suggestion of the king, who provided the means for making it, and it was finished in 1789. With this great instrument he made some important discoveries, though it was rarely that the state of the atmosphere in England permitted him to use it.

Herschel introduced a very important improvement into the construction of large reflecting telescopes, known as the *front view*. The Gregorian reflecting-telescope contains two

mirrors, the large one which collects the rays of light from the object, and a small one, near the upper end of the tube, which re-reflects the rays through a small hole in the centre of the large mirror, or speculum, where the eye-piece receives them before they enter the eye of the observer. In the Newtonian reflector, the small mirror is placed at an angle of forty-five degrees to the axis of the tube, and thus throws the rays through a hole in the side of the tube, where the eye-piece receives them. Herschel proposed to incline the axis of the speculum a little to the axis of the tube, so that the eye-piece can receive the rays of light at one side of the tube, and that the head of the observer will obstruct but a small portion of the light which enters the tube. This Herschel called the *front view.* It distorts the image somewhat, but the light lost by the second reflection in the other focus was saved by Herschel's method, and he found it very advantageous in some cases where the amount of light was small, as when making observations on the satellites of the more distant planets. In studying the solar spectrum with a thermometer, Herschel ascertained that it is prolonged on the red side far beyond the visible limits. This fact thus made known by Herschel* has led to very important discoveries in our day.† He made experiments on the illuminating power of the prismatic rays, and found the greatest power for illumination to exist between the brightest yellow and the palest green. We have thus attempted to give the reader a general idea of the life and labors of Sir William Herschel. "William Herschel died, without pain, on the 23d of August, 1822, aged eighty-three years. Fortune and fame never changed in him that depth of child-like candor, inexhaustible good-will, and sweetness of character, with which nature had endowed him. He preserved up to his last moments all his lucidness of mind and vigor of intellect. For several years before he died he enjoyed with delight the distinguished success of his only son. At his last hour he sunk to rest with the pleasing conviction that this beloved son, the inheritor of a great name, would

* *Phil. Trans.* for 1800.

† See Tyndal *On Radiation*, *Smithsonian Report* for 1868, p. 392.

not allow it to sink into oblivion, but would surround it with new lustre, and that great discoveries would also honor his career. Every prediction of the illustrious astronomer has been most completely realized." *

The discoveries of Sir William Herschel form an epoch in astronomical science. His observations and deductions in relation to variable and periodical stars; his observations upon double stars and the discovery that the two members of a binary system revolve around their common centre of gravity; his discovery of the motion of the solar system through space and the point whither it is tending, agreeing closely with the most recent investigations; his observations upon the nebulæ, the resolution of some into the stars which compose them, and the conclusion that others are irresolvable, and consequently composed of nebulous matter not yet formed into stars, which the spectroscope has confirmed; his observations on the Milky Way, by *guaging the heavens*, and deductions respecting its structure; his discovery of a new primary planet, and several secondary planets; his discoveries on the surface of the planets, determination of their periods of rotation, of the existence of atmospheres surrounding them; his discoveries in relation to the sun; and his observations on comets, and conclusions respecting their structure and physical constitution, are all-sufficient to place him in the very front rank of those eminent scientific men who have adorned the race to which they belonged, and have added so much to a knowledge of the physical universe, which man, for many centuries, has been endeavoring to grasp.

Herschel supposed that he had discovered six satellites which revolve around Uranus, but three or four of them have never been seen by any other astronomer, even with very powerful telescopes. Doubt is therefore thrown on the reality of his discovery of them. In this case we have only negative testimony to oppose to Herschel's confidence in his positive observations. Still, as the satellites of Uranus are very faint objects, it is possible that Herschel may have mistaken some

* *Annuaire pour* 1842, p. 581.

fixed stars for satellites, although Sir William Herschel was one of the most accurate observers of whom the history of astronomy furnishes us any record.*

Arago has collected the following account of the means taken by Sir John Herschel to preserve the remains of his father's forty-foot telescope: The metal tube of the instrument, carrying at one end the four-foot mirror, was placed horizontally in the meridian on solid piers of masonry, in the midst of the circle where formerly the mechanism required for manœuvring the telescope stood. On the first of January, 1840, Sir John Herschel, his wife, their children, seven in number, together with some old family servants, assembled at Slough. "Exactly at noon, the party walked several times, in procession, around the instrument; they then entered the tube of the telescope, seated themselves on benches that had been prepared for the purpose, and sung a requiem, with English words, composed by Sir John Herschel himself. After their exit, the illustrious family ranged themselves around the great tube, the opening of which was then hermetically sealed. The day concluded with a party of intimate friends."† "The whole world will doubtless applaud Sir John Herschel," says M. Arago, "for the pious feeling which actuated him on this occasion, and the friends of science will thank him for having thus consecrated the humble garden where his father achieved such immortal labors, by a monument more expressive in its simplicity than pyramids of statues."

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* See *Monthly Notices*, vol. xxx, p. 219. † *Annuaire pour* 1842, p. 268.

ART. III.—1. *Decrees of Expulsion against the Jesuits by the Prussian Government*, 1872.

2. *Speeches at Public Meetings in England, Germany, and Switzerland, relative to the Expulsion of the Jesuits.*

3. *Histoire impartiale des Jésuites.* LINGUET. 2 vols., 12mo. Paris.

4. *Historie religieuse, politique, et littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus, composée sur les documents inédits et authentiques.* Par S. CRETINEAU JOLY. 6 vols.

5. *Institutiones Societatis Jesu, cum earum Declarationibus.* 7 vols.

NOTHING is more hateful than oppression, and none lay a stronger hold on the sympathies of all generous minds than its victims. More especially is this the case when the avowed motive, on the part of the oppressor, is to suppress antagonistic thought. Accordingly, in proportion as governments become enlightened they shrink, if only for their own sake, from attempting to fetter the mind.

But even fetters are better than expulsion. It is more reasonable to tie the feet of the steed, when found unduly restive, than to expel him from his pasture. That others will take him in and feed him, for his worth, is no excuse for turning him off. What should be remembered is, that if all would treat him so he would inevitably starve. But to continue the simile a moment longer: suppose him to be a trained Arabian—one whose intelligence and sagacity are such that he has given important aid in the training of other horses; his only fault being that he is not so docile as he might be, but sometimes prone to plunge and rear—without, however, doing any serious mischief.

Should he be turned out to starve on this account? Should all the good he has done be forgotten and only his faults remembered? Above all, what should be said of the man who, having profited by the labors of such a steed, would say

to his neighbor: "You see that horse I have driven off. You must give him no shelter on your farm—neither stable nor pasture. If you do, be prepared to fight me!"

We need hardly say that we allude to the course pursued by Prussia towards the Jesuits. Our readers are aware how much we have, ourselves, criticised members of the society; but they are also aware that we have never assailed them, either for their religion or their politics. We have made no attack on them as an order or community, on any ground, because we have never believed they really deserved it; and, perhaps, there are few Protestants in this country who have had more opportunities of studying their character than we. It is precisely because we know what excellent educators the fraternity have proved themselves in Europe, that we could not help regarding some of those engaged in teaching in this country, especially in New York and its vicinity, as sadly degenerate Jesuit educators. In other words, we have criticised some of our local Jesuit colleges, not because they are Jesuit colleges, but because they are unworthy the name of those institutions which have produced the most profound scholars and the most illustrious thinkers of modern times. The colleges of another Catholic order we have found vastly superior in this country, and we have not hesitated to say so. But here end the "enmity" and "malice" of which we have so often been accused by the individual Jesuits whose pretensions, as educators, we have criticised. The best proof that we have entertained no such feeling against a body of men whose educational labors entitle them, in the estimation of every competent, impartial judge, whether Protestant, Catholic, or Infidel, to be regarded as benefactors of mankind—is, that now, when they are oppressed and persecuted, none more earnestly or more indignantly protest against their being so treated than we.

What a commentary it is on the superior enlightenment claimed by the Prussian government, that it is now pursuing the policy of "pains and penalties," on sectarian grounds, which was pursued by England nearly three centuries ago, but for which that nation has been making all possible amends

for more than one century, becoming more and more liberal and tolerant from year to year, so that at this moment opinion, whether sectarian or political, is as free throughout the British empire as it is in our own republic.

Englishmen of the present day blush when they read in the pages of their historians that centuries ago it was a crime for a priest or monk to teach even the rudiments of education under British rule. This may well seem, as, indeed, it really was, bad enough. But in the gloomiest times the British mind retained, at least, a portion of the instinct of justice characteristic of the nation; for only those priests and monks who persisted in defying the penal laws were expelled, despoiled of their means of support, and forced to take refuge in whatever country they found sufficiently hospitable to afford them an asylum.

Prussia does not merely shut up schools and colleges at the present day, and say to the teachers: "Because your theology is not of the orthodox stamp you must not teach Prussian boys their lessons any longer, on pain of being imprisoned or expelled from the country." What she says, in substance, is this: "Whether you persist in teaching or not, you must leave. We cannot charge you with any particular crime, but you are Jesuits and monks, and that is crime enough in 'united Germany!'"

True, Prussia may refer to two contemporary Catholic governments as examples for her treatment of the Jesuits and other educational orders of the Catholic church. But can the new German empire regard Italy and Guatemala as models? What country in Europe evinces less intellectual vigor or activity at the present day than Italy? Is it not true, that any of the several states once embraced in Italy was of vastly more importance to the world, for centuries, than the whole peninsula is, at the present moment, however intimately it may be "united"? In proof of this, it is only necessary to mention Florence, Genoa, and Venice, passing over the Mistress of the World. What visions of glory—what a host of immortal spirits are conjured up by these three names! It is impossible to reflect for a moment on any of the three republics

of the Middle Ages, and compare it with the "united Italy" of the present day, without feeling that the land of Virgil and Scipio, of Tacitus and Cicero, of Danté and Macchiavelli, of Tasso and Angelo, etc., is as degenerate in our own time as that of Socrates and Themistocles, Aristotle and Pericles.

But in this, also, Prussia may find an excuse, for the most powerful of the republics expelled the Jesuits. Venice did so; her Council of Ten, and the basest of her doges felt not a little restrained in their actions by the presence of the Society. Sarpi could never endure them; they knew too much and *thought* too much to be favorable to the policy of which he was the exponent; the policy whose appropriate emblem was the Lion's Mouth, and which was most faithfully illustrated by the human victim tied up in a bag, with a large stone, and thrown, in the silent darkness of midnight, into the Adriatic. Was it a disgrace to be expelled by a govenment like this? nay, was it not an honor? Let those who doubt the latter fact turn to any reliable historian of Venice. But it is needless to go beyond Bayle, who, infidel and enemy to all monks though he be, candidly explains in his celebrated Dictionary what the real cause of their expulsion by the republic was.*

It may be well to remember, also, that even Venice was in its decline when it began to ostracize men of learning on any pretext whatever. While able to carry on a war of conquest against the Turks in their palmiest days, the republic was the friend and protector, not the oppressor, of thinkers and educators. In short, Venice expelled the Jesuits in the same spirit in which Spain expelled them—in accordance with the same blind, suicidal policy which prompted the latter country to expel the Moors and the Jews, in turn, thereby inflicting upon herself an injury from the blighting effects of which she can never recover. And no sooner are Sarpi and his base policy come to their end than the Jesuits are readmitted into Venice (1657).

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*L'une des raisons, me dit-on, pourquoi' les Jesuits ne plaisant point là au souverain, c'est qu' ils gardent mieux le decorum de leur caractere; et qu' ainsi, se faisant plus respecter au menu peuple, par un exterieur plus réglé ils sont plus en état d'éxciter une sédition etc.—*Dict. Philosoph.* art *Abelard.*

But there is yet another Catholic precedent to which Prussia can refer. Bismarck may tell the Protestant scholars and authors who remonstrate with him against his treatment of the Jesuits, as the illustrious Kepler once remonstrated in behalf of the same order,* that even their founder, Ignatius, had been arrested three times as a heretic by the Inquisition, and but narrowly escaped the terrors of its dungeons. He may tell them, moreover, that Pope Clement XIV. declared the society dissolved, in 1773, by his brief *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*. But in doing so he should add that this pontiff was a Franciscan friar, who was no admirer of learning, or learned men—still less of learned Jesuits whom he had been led to regard as enemies. Another important, significant fact in connection with the course of Ganganelli in issuing this ukase, is that the College of Cardinals had refused to concur in his views, and hence it was that the document he sent forth against the Jesuits was what is technically called a "brief," not a "bull." If all this should not prove satisfactory, the premier of the new German empire might remind the remonstrants how mild and tolerant must the course of Protestant Prussia be considered when it is borne in mind, that so late as 1835, fourteen Jesuits were massacred by a brutal mob in Catholic Madrid, in the halls of their own college of St. Isidoro—the massacre having been connived at, if not actually instigated by the Spanish government. That the Guatemalians, who are a mixture of degenerate Spaniards and still more degenerate Indians, should expel the Jesuits at the present day, even if capable of appreciating what they had done for the Paraguayans, and how they were rewarded at the close by Portugal and Spain, for their invaluable services to humanity and civilization in Paraguay, is, perhaps no worse than might have been expected. At least, it may be said, that what such a rude, mongrel people as those of Guatemala have done should be no example for a great empire which boasts of being at the head of European civilization.

Bismarck may then turn to England, and say that the Jesuits have been hanged in dozens there. If any reply "more shame for England," they can be referred to the pages of Froude to see how well the Jesuits deserved their fate, for of all who

have charged them with impossible crimes Froude is the most extravagant in his representations.* Of all the historians of England he is the most unreliable authority in regard to the Jesuits. He admits, however, that they were treated with undue severity in England. "All Jesuits," he says, "and seminary priests, were ordered to leave the realm within forty days. If they overstaid that time, or if they returned after it, unless for special causes, they were to suffer as traitors; and those who harbored them were to be hanged as felons."†

Bismarck is much misrepresented if he has not referred to several of these examples—especially to the course pursued towards the Jesuits by England—by way of justifying his own arbitrary and oppressive measures. But assuming all Mr. Froude and others of his sectarian school allege against the Jesuits of the reign of Elizabeth to be true; assuming also that the punishments inflicted on the Jesuits of that period were just, does it follow that the same is true of the Jesuits of the present day whom, we believe, even Bismarck has not accused of any felonious crime. As we have often maintained in these pages that the Jesuits of the present day must have some stronger claim to be considered superior educators, than the fame as educators of Jesuits of two or three centuries ago, however well merited that fame was, so do we maintain now, that the Jesuits of the present day should not be held responsible for any crimes, real or imaginary, which Jesuits may have committed in England, Spain, or Portugal, so long ago as the sixteenth century.

But if we are to pass judgment on the Jesuits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is but common justice to consult those historians who have sufficiently studied and investigated their character. Nor is it necessary for us, in performing this task, to confine ourselves to Catholic historians, or biographers. We may, on the contrary, confine ourselves exclusively to Protestant testimony, and yet feel confident that

* See his version of the story of the two English Jesuits, Tyrrell and Fortesque, and of their interview with Gregory XIII., etc.—*Hist. of England*, Reign of Elizabeth, c. xviii.

† *Ib.*, vol. vi., c. xxxii.

full justice will be done to the Jesuits. Thus, for example, no one will accuse the English historian of the Middle Ages of any partiality to the church of Rome Gibbon himself can hardly be said to be more anti-catholic than Mr. Hallam. Certainly neither Gibbon, nor any other writer, has more thoroughly studied the history of the society.

And what is Hallam's estimate of the Jesuits, as educators, at the very period when they suffered most in England, Spain, Portugal, and elsewhere? We ask this question the more particularly because it is as educators we have always considered the Jesuits, and because it is as educators they are now expelled from Prussia. We have criticised Jesuits of the present day for being unworthy of comparison, as educators, with the Jesuits of former times. But Bismarck attacks the present Jesuits of Germany on the opposite ground—because he thinks they know too much—because he regards them as too much like their brethren of former ages in the matter of thinking, and in proposing questions which it may not be convenient for arbitrary rulers to answer, even when flushed with conquest. Our readers may remember that we have often expressed a wish that our American Jesuits were equal to those of Germany, France, or Belgium, in learning and educational ability. Some thought that at best we exaggerated when we asserted that our New York Jesuit colleges dwindled into third or fourth class preparatory schools, when compared to the German or French colleges of the society, although we have always cheerfully admitted that the Jesuit colleges of Georgetown and Worcester (Holy Cross), while they do not entirely equal those institutions, are justly worthy of comparison with them.

It is, then, not against degenerate Jesuit educators Bismarck makes war, but against those who have continued to maintain the ancient educational prestige of the society. In other words, he does not make war on vulgar pretenders to learning, depending for success on the fame of their brethren of past ages; he does not shut up "colleges" that are but indifferent grammar schools. He makes war on a body of learned men; he shuts up institutions that rank with the first

in Europe, for no other reason, that he can show, has any foundation in fact, than that those learned men and those institutions, not content with teaching the classic languages, the arts and the sciences, devote themselves, now as of yore, to a system of theology which, if fully propagated, might prove more or less dangerous to "united Germany!" In short, he attacks the Jesuits as they are described by the faithful historian of the Middle Ages. Referring to the condition in which the Jesuits found the Catholic colleges, Mr. Hallam proceeds: "It was, therefore, one of the first great services which the Jesuits performed to get possession of the universities, or to found other seminaries of education. In these they discarded the barbarous school-books then in use, put the rudimentary study of the languages on a better footing, devoted themselves, for the sake of religion, to those accomplishments which religion had hitherto disdained; and by giving a taste for elegant literature, with as much solid and scientific philosophy as the knowledge of the times and the prejudices of the Church would allow, both wiped away the reproach of ignorance and drew forth the native talents of their novices and scholars."* Speaking of the society, a little further on, the historian continues: "And we are the more closely concerned with them here that they are in this age among the links between religious opinion and literature. We have seen in the last chapter with what spirit they took the lead in polite letters and classical style; with what dexterity they made the highest talents of the rising generation, which the Church at once dreaded, and checked, her most willing and effective instruments."† But there is one other observation of Mr. Hallam which is perhaps as applicable now in Prussia as it was in any part of Germany when it was written. "The weak points of Protestantism," says the historian, "they attacked with *embarrassing* ingenuity; and the reformed churches did not cease to give them abundant advantage by inconsistency, extravagance, and passion."‡

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* *Introduc. to the Lit. of Europe*, Harper's ed., vol. i., p. 256. † *Ib.*, p. 237.
‡ *Lit. of Europe*, vol. i., p. 274.

It is not generally known in this country that, prior to the late Franco-Prussian war, the Jesuits were suspected of having attacked some of Prussia's usurpations with "embarrassing ingenuity," especially her attacks upon Denmark, and other small states, unable, however brave and patriotic, to resist her. More than one pamphlet published during the Schleswig-Holstein war—pamphlets which reflected severely both on his Majesty the king, and on his premier, accusing both of "unscrupulous greed,"—were attributed to Jesuits.* There was, however, no word about expulsion then. Bismarck, although in quite a rage, feared that Bavaria and other Catholic states might be alienated from the cause of "German unity" by any open assault, at that time, on the Jesuits. But France being crushed, no resentment was to be feared from the Catholics, even though the Jesuits should prove to be only the first of the Catholic educational orders to suffer. That the Prussian system of education is very good none competent to judge will deny; but it is equally undeniable that, in practice, it has been allowed to decline much within the last seven years, all other departments of instruction having been held subordinate to the military during this period. This is not only admitted but much deplored by eminent German scholars. But there

* It should be remembered that the most serious charge ever made against the Jesuits, is that of attempting to justify the killing of tyrants, who oppress and rob the people, whether those tyrants be called doges, kings, or emperors. This charge is based chiefly, if not exclusively, on the work of Mariana, entitled, *De Rege et Regis Institutione.* It is certain that in his chapters *De Tyrannicidio* (tyrant-killing), Mariana gives rather plain hints as to the fate which tyrants ought to expect when they treat their subjects as slaves. But nowhere does even he say anything worse on the subject than some of the leading journals of England, as well as this country, have said in regard to the last king of Naples, known by the soubriquet of "King Bomba." Nay, some have indulged in as bloody theories in reference to the ex-queen of Spain. But Mariana's doctrine was formally condemned by Aquaviva, general of the order, and refuted by Bellarmin, and several other Jesuits; so that, in point of fact, the charge, as it stands to-day against the Jesuits, is pretty much the same as if the daily journals of this country and England were condemned as instigating the murder of kings and emperors, because two or three of the most obscure of them hinted, some time since, that the world would be nothing the worse, if certain tyrants were made to feel that they, too, are "made of penetrable stuff!"

is another fact still more generally admitted, namely, that no teachers need expect anything better than opposition from the government, let them belong to any religious sect they may, who are known to have any sympathy for France. As for those who think that Alsace and Lorraine will again belong to that country, and ought, highway robbers are scarcely less dangerous to the new German empire, in the estimation of Bismarck.

The educated classes in England are quite aware of all this; and hence it is that such large public meetings have been held at London, Manchester, and elsewhere, for the purpose of sympathising with the Jesuits, and other educational orders, and earnestly protesting against the conduct of Prussia in oppressing them—meetings composed quite as much of Protestants as of Catholics. We are assured that the great Protestant universities of Oxford and Cambridge were fully represented at a meeting held at Willis' rooms, St. James', on the 15th of July. From a report of the proceedings in one of the London journals of the day we extract the following from a much longer list of names more or less distinguished and honorable:

"The Duke of Norfolk presided, and among those present were the Archbishop of Westminster (who arrived towards the close of the meeting), the Earl of Denbigh, the Earl of Gainsborough, the Ladies Fitzalan Howard, the Marchioness of Londonderry, the Dowager Marchioness of Lothian, Lord Howard of Glossop, the Hon. Colin Lindsay, Sir R. Gerard, Bart., Sir C. and Lady Clifford, Sir G. Bowyer, Bart., Lieutenant-General Sir V. and Lady Eyre, the Hon. W. North, Mr. and Lady G. Fullerton, Lady Amabel Cowper, Lady Milford, Lady Chichester, Count Stuart de Albanie, Mgr. Patterson, Mgr. Capel, Hon. and Rev. Dr. Talbot, Mr. Maguire, M. P., Mr. Munster, M. P., Mr. Callan, M. P., Mr. C. Langdale, Mr. Thomas Eyre, Mr. and Mrs. Augustus Craven, Mr. Wegg-Prosser, Mr. G. Blount, Mr. De La Barre Bodenham, Mr. G. Lane Fox, Col. Patterson, Major Yard, Major F. Gordon, Major Trevor, Mr. Allies, Mr. Ranken, Mr. Blount, Mr. Gilbert Blount, Mr. T. H. Galton, Mr. A. Langdale, Mr. E. J. Hutchins, Mr. J. H. Pollen, Mr. C. Clifford, Mr. E. Tegart, Mr. Stuart Mill, Mr. W. Wilberforce, Mr. James Doyle,

Mr. R. Doyle, Mr. Henry Doyle, Mr. T. M. Smith, Mr. C. R. Scott Murray, Mrs. J. Towneley, Mrs. Bellasis, Mrs. Grattan Bellew, Misses Langdale, Bowden, Clifford, Towneley, La Touche, etc."

Even in this fragment most of the great families of England are represented—families distinguished for intellect, culture, patriotism, and courage. It is not often that the ladies of England attend public meetings; but the noblest and best of them as rarely fail to do so when the object of the meetings is to protest against oppression and persecution. In short, all the enlightened classes sympathise with the educational orders, whether it be Bismarck or Victor Emanuel who oppresses them; partly because those classes know the value of the services rendered to the state by fraternities of well-qualified, trained teachers, enthusiastically devoted to the great cause of education, and partly because they feel that those who have done good work for the public and for civilization deserve a better reward than to be treated like public enemies.

But Germany is much changed if the same classes among the Germans are not actuated by similar impulses. Certainly none worthy of being the fellow-countrymen of Kepler, Leibnitz, Humboldt, Schlegel, Göethe, and Uhland, are the enemies of teachers merely on account of their dogmas. If we inquire who have done most for German education in its highest grades, we shall find that neither their Lutheranism nor their Calvanism has prevented them from doing full justice to the Jesuits as instructors of youth. Thus, for example, there is no higher name among the educators of Germany than John Sturm, who bears the following testimony:

"They give instruction in the languages and in logic, and, so far as they can, they impart to their scholars a knowledge of rhetoric. *I rejoice at their appearance for two reasons.* And first, because they promote our cause by cultivating the sciences. For I have observed what authors they explain, and what method they adopt; it is a method so nearly like ours, that it appears as if they had copied from us. And secondly, they incite us to a greater watchfulness and zeal, lest they show themselves more diligent than we, and lest their scholars become more learned and accomplished than ours." *

* See Adam's *Vitæ German Philosoph.*

How much like the sentiment of Lord Bacon this is, may be seen from the subjoined remark: "When I look at the diligence and the activity of the Jesuits," says the author of the *Novum Organum*, "both in imparting knowledge and in moulding the heart, I bethink me of the exclamation of Agesilaus concerning Pharnabasus, 'I would thou wert on our side.'" * But one word more of German testimony. Who will require better than that of Frederick A. Wolf, the great philologist."

"Tell me not," says Wolf, "that you have mastered the Latin and Greek languages, when you are unable to speak them. The Jesuits and their pupils were able both to speak these languages and to write them. Many, very many, of them wrote hymns and odes; nay, epics in Latin and Greek, as none but a Latin or Greek poet could have done; so that their productions, if compared with the works of Greek and Roman poets, would not be found wanting. The libraries of the Society of Jesus contains works composed by Jesuits, such as speeches, histories, epic poems (Christiados, for example), both Latin and Greek, which bear the classical stamp."†

It is well known that nothing pleases the emperor William better than to compare him to Frederick the Great. But far from expelling learned men from his dominions, he invited many from foreign countries, as well as from distant parts of his own kingdom, to take up their residence in his capital; and to such as needed pecuniary aid he freely gave it. Instead of being prejudiced against Frenchmen, lest they might excite an insurrection, he preferred them to all other foreigners. Although he and Voltaire frequently quarrelled, he generally treated the philosopher more like a companion in every respect his equal, than like a poor author seeking protection from those in power in his own country, whose misdeeds he had exposed to public scorn. In Frederick's time the Jesuits were regarded as much more terrible than they have been at any period during the present century. But the great soldier and statesman regarded them with a very different feeling from that of

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* *Opus de Dignit. Scient.*, lib. vii. † Vide Kœrte's *Leben und Studien*, p. 17.

terror. On first reading the institutes of the society, his remark was, "Give me a people capable of being ruled by such laws, and they will be a perfect and happy community."*

But no descriptions by the most learned botanists and horticulturists can show the value of a tree, so well as the fruit it bears. Judged by this test, the record of the Jesuits, as educators, would seem fabulous, were it not attested in a thousand forms, by witnesses that are not the less eloquent, or the less reliable for being silent. Especially would it seem fabulous to Americans, who know only such Jesuits and Jesuit institutions as we have in New York. Could these be regarded as fairly representing the educational abilities and labors of the Society, we should only stultify ourselves by speaking of it as we do. But there is nearly as great a difference as there is between the children who "play school," and the teachers whom they so amusingly, though sometimes gravely enough, try to imitate. It is not on judges like Cardozo, that the Jesuit colleges of Europe confer honorary degrees. The patrons, pets, and mouth-pieces of these institutions are not politicians like Peter B. Sweeny, A. Oakey Hall, etc. The men whom the European Jesuits invite to their colleges, and entertain with their characteristic hospitality, are not the gamblers and liquor dealers of the neighborhood. The Jesuits of European colleges are rarely bigoted†; it cannot be said of them, therefore, that they try to

* See Laveaux's *Vie de Frédéric II., roi de Prusse*, p. 128: also Lord Dover's *Life of Frederick II.*, and Grimoard's *Tableau historique et militaire de la vie et du régne de Frédéric le Grand.*

† "While bigotry on both sides was doing its worst work, the Jesuits often proved themselves superior to its influence. This was true, for example, in the time of Kepler, who bears grateful testimony to the fact that, while the Lutherans of Tubingen University would do nothing to aid him, he was dependent on the Jesuit premier of the Catholic duke of Styria for the means of subsistence. When struggling with poverty, the great astronomer received an annuity from that small, poor state, the Jesuit premier telling him that the object of the duke, in giving it to him, was to enable him to devote his whole time to his astronomical researches. This is corroborated by Kepler himself, who, in one of his letters to his friend Mästlin, says: "My salary is paid to me more out of pity, than for any good that is expected from me." See Breitschwert's *Life and Labors of Kepler*, p. 67, *et seq.* Also, *National Quarterly Review*, No. xvi, Art. "Kepler and his Discoveries."

make the female Catholic academies within the sphere of their influence as bigoted as themselves. Still less can it be said that they teach the good ladies in charge of those institutions to be much more friendly to vulgar, illiterate, dishonest politicians in offices where they can make grants of the public money, than to those who expose the vulgarity, ignorance, and dishonesty of such. The reverse of all this could be clearly proved. But, as already intimated, we need not go to Europe in search of Jesuit colleges whose favorites are not degraded politicians; nor need we leave the United States to find Jesuit colleges, whose influence on the female academies in their vicinity is liberalizing and enlightening—in every sense elevating.

Whatever may be said to the contrary, we do not discriminate thus in any unkind spirit. We do so because we feel that if we represented third or fourth class Jesuit schools as equal to first-class Jesuit colleges, it is among the puffers, not among the critics, we should deserve to be ranked. Even if we professed the Catholic faith we should shrink from so mean a task; and did that faith require us to call an ignorant Jesuit a learned Jesuit, or to call a third-class Jesuit school a first-class Jesuit college, merely because it is Catholic, we should be sure not to profess it long. We then speak of the Jesuits as we find them—in the same spirit as we do of the ancient Greeks, or the ancient Egyptians. Modern civilization owes an immense debt to the Jesuits. Whatever their faults may be, they have never ceased to be benefactors of mankind. Most cheerfully do we admit that for every one ignorant, uncultivated, ungentlemanly member of the society there have been, and still are, at least a dozen of the opposite character.

Now, a word as to what the Jesuits have done for literature, science, and the arts; and we feel confident that those who listen to that word will agree with us, let them belong to what religious sect they may, that neither Bismarck nor his imperial master have ever done a more thoughtless, or a more unwise thing than to close the educational institutions of the Jesuits and make war on the society as a body. It is to a similar act of imperial tyranny and persecution that Uhland refers in his

famous lyric, "The Minstrel's Curse," * the second stanza of which we transcribe:

> Dort sass ein stolzer König, an Land und Siegen reich,
> Er sass auf seinem Throne so finster und so bleich;
> Den was er sinnt, ist Shrecken, und was er blickt, ist Wuth,
> Und was er spricht, ist Geissel und was er schreibt, ist Blut.†

Those who read the whole poem and the explanatory notes appended to it will see that when Pius IX. said that a stone from heaven might crush the heel of the Colossus, he had history and poetry on his side. But as for the great thinkers educated by the Jesuits, a mere list of them would more than fill all the space we have now left for this article. It is generally supposed by Protestants that, at best, the Jesuits make their pupils bigoted, superstitious Catholics; but there is just as much reason to accuse the Fathers of making their pupils "infidels," since it is they who have educated some of the most formidable enemies of the Church. In illustration of this, we need only mention Voltaire, Rousseau, Fontenelle, Crebillon, Montesquieu.

Among those of their pupils who were much more Protestants than Catholics, may be mentioned Molière, Descartes, Nicoläi, and Justus Lipsius. But what a host of illustrious names rush upon our memory as we try to recall some of the great minds trained by the Jesuits. The author of *La Henriade* and *Le Dictionnaire philosophique* might well feel grateful to the Society, for, when he entered their college of Louis le Grand, as poor "François Arouet," he had scarcely money enough to pay for one month's tuition; but soon after parting with the Fathers he was "Voltaire le Philosoph." Accordingly, even when attacking them as the zealous and powerful servants of the Church, he speaks of them as "that singular society, in which it must be confessed there have been found, and are to be found still, individuals of very extraordinary

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* *Das Sänger's Fluch.*

† There sat a haughty king, in victories rich and lands,
He sat enthroned so pale, and issued stern commands;
For what he broods is terror, rage his eyeball lights,
And scourge is what he speaks, and blood is what he writes.

merit."* There have been few members who have been induced, by any means, to withdraw from the society, who have not paid them a similar tribute when capable of doing so. As an illustration of this sentiment we quote the following stanza from a very fine poem by Gresset, entitled "Adieux aux Jésuits."

"Je dois tous mes regrets aux sages que je quitte!
J'en perds avec douleur l'entretien vertueux;
Et si dans leurs foyers désormais je n'habite,
Mon cœur me survit auprès d'eux.
Car ne les crois point tels que la main de l'envie
Les peint à des yeux prévenus:
Si tu ne les connais que sue ce qu'en publie
La ténébreuse calomnie,
Ils te sont encore inconnus!"†

In mentioning Jesuits, or those educated by them, who have done valuable service for literature, science, and the arts, we must necessarily be desultory, setting down the names as they occur to us, without classification; for to do otherwise would render it necessary to consult a number of works which would constitute a library by themselves. Every scholar has more or less acquaintance with the method of study (*Ratio studiorum*) of the Jesuits. This was compiled by a select quorum of the order under the superintendence of Father Maldonatus, whom the philosopher Bayle honors with an elaborate article in his dictionary. Thus was laid the foundation of those important improvements in text-books and modes of instruction alluded to so admiringly by Hallam, Sturm, Bacon, and Wolf, in the extracts we have given in the preceding pages.

It is often said that the educational system of the Jesuits is not favorable to scientific research. But who, of his

* Dict. Philosoph. Art. *Les Jésuites.*

† To the sages I leave here's a heartfelt farewell!
'Twas a blessing within their loved cloisters to dwell,
And my dearest affections shall cling round them still:
Full gladly I mixed their bless'd circles among,
And oh! heed not the whisper of Envy's foul tongue;
If you list to her, you must know them but ill.

time, did more for science than the illustrious founder of the Cartesian philosophy, one of the earliest pupils of their famous college of Laflèche afterwards destroyed by a brutal mob? Who was the inventor of the barometer? Torrecelli, educated at the Jesuit college of Fayenza, near Rimini, and everywhere known as a scientific investigator. The London Royal Society gave great offence to the anti-popery party throughout England, in 1759, by sending the Jesuit Boscowich to California to observe the transit of Venus. The same scientist was employed for similar purposes by the governments of France and Austria. While the Jesuit Kircher was engaged on his great work, *Mundus Subteraneous*, published at Amsterdam, in 1664, in two folio volumes, during his hours of relaxation, he invented the "magic lantern," to amuse the children of his friends. The first astronomical observatory worthy of the name, established in Paris, was superintended by Casini, an alumnus of the College de Clermont; the same institution in which Molière was educated. Newton gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Father Grimaldi, for his ideas on the inflexion of light, *De Lumine, Coloribus et Iride;* and it was the Jesuits Lesuer and Jaquier, who issued the best edition of Newton's *Principia* ever printed.

To those Jesuits and pupils of Jesuits, already mentioned as having attained eminence in literature, a host of others might be added. We wish we could induce many of those who think the Jesuits are little better than incarnate demons, to read Father Tiraboschi's admirable *Storia della Litteratura d'Italia*, Father Sarbreir's exquisite Latin odes, which are worthy of comparison, both in their pure Latinity and genuine humor, even to the odes of Horace.*

* It was once our privilege to examine a considerable variety of the most curious works of the Jesuits, at Georgetown College, D. C., thanks to the courtesy of its learned and amiable president, Rev. Father Early; and we were afforded a similar gratification at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., by the Rev. Father Clark, to whom we could apply no language sufficiently expressive of the high estimation in which we hold him as an educator and a gentleman. At these two colleges we have, indeed, met learned Jesuits; nor did they treat us the less kindly as a guest, or take the less pains to show us their rare books on account of our being a "heretic"—a heretic, too, who, as they were quite aware, had criticised the educational plans of two or three

A curious charge against the teaching of the Jesuits, is, that it hardens the heart, blunts the finer sensibilities, and chills, or destroys the strongest affections of our nature. This is in accordance with the theory set forth in the old legend, that if monks are not exactly woman haters, they are, at least, indifferent to the fair as such.

Quid fœmenis
Commune est cum monachis?
Nec te, nec ullam aliam
Admittamus in insulam.*

But can any such style of embargo be attributed to Voltaire, Rousseau, or Montesquieu? Were not the affections of each only too strong through life? That the Jesuits did not harden or unduly chill the heart of Tasso (author of "Jerusalem Delivered."† one of the greatest epics of modern times), another of their illustrious pupils, is proved but too well by his long and cruel captivity for the sake of the beautiful and tender Leonora.‡

And be it remembered that the genius of Corneille, as well as that of Molière, was trained by the Jesuits; the tragic, as well as the comic muse, found at least a temporary home in their classic halls at Rouen and Clermont. Did the author of *Le Cid* and the author of *Le Misanthrope* understand the human heart the less thoroughly or intimately for having been educated by monks? Are those famous dramas anything the less favorable to human liberty—liberty of thought and action—from the fact that the geniuses of their authors had been modelled by men believing in the infallibility of the Pope!

As to pulpit orators, it is sufficient to mention two names—

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individuals belonging to the society. Nay, far be it from us to say that there are not learned and accomplished Jesuits at both St. Xavier's College, New York, and St. John's, Fordham, although we have never had the honor of knowing them. It is but just to add that we have often been assured that the great difficulty at the two latter institutions has been defective heads. Referring to each, in turn, a learned Catholic friend says: "Some members of the body are excellent, but the head might almost as well be a *cabbage head*."

* Colgan. *Acta SS. Hyb.* † *Gerusalemme liberata.*

‡ Vide his *Aminta.*

those of Bossuet and Bourdaloue—both educated by the Jesuits, the former at their college of Dijon, in Burgundy, the latter at their noviciate in Bourges. If these two ecclesiastics had given the world nothing but their funeral orations—which are justly regarded as models in every enlightened country, not excepting Prussia—they would have been entitled to rank among the benefactors of mankind. And what polemical writers of modern times of any eminence, no matter what sect they belong to, have not profited by the writings of the Jesuits Saurez, Folet, Bellarmin, Menchius, etc.?

There are many who, while they admit that the Jesuits have proved themselves good teachers in literature and the sciences, say that at least the monks are not the sort of teachers to cultivate a warlike spirit, so necessary for the protection of the fatherland. Yet one of the most illustrious captains of modern times was educated by the Jesuits—need we say we mean the great Condé? Among the best writers, on the science of war are De Grammont, Brissac, Rohan, and De Soubisse, all trained by the Jesuits. When Marshal Soult visited London, soon after the Emancipation Bill was passed by parliament, in one of his familiar conversations with the Duke of Wellington, he playfully said, "Ah! monsieur le duc, you don't think the Catholics such dangerous people after all?" "Yes, I do," replied the Duke, in the same playful mood, "especially when they have Jesuits amongst them to teach them dangerous things." "But are there Jesuits in Ireland?" "Only very few; and these you have sent us pretty much as your people do your inferior wines." "How then can you say that the Jesuits are dangerous, for nonentities, such as you describe are never so?" "Do you forget that I was once a student at your military school of Angers? My principal instructor there—the one who taught me most was a Jesuit. Accordingly, it often occurred to me in my campaigns against your brave countrymen, that those monks are dangerous people!"*

* Vide Maxwell's *Life of Field-Marshal Duke of Wellington;* also, De Courselle's *Dict. Hist. Des Généraux Français*, Art. Soult duc de Dalmatie.

It is hardly necessary to add that Soult, good humoredly, admitted the force of the joke. He often related this anecdote afterwards to prove, that nothwithstanding the cold, apparently imperturbable manner which caused Wellington to be nick-named "the Iron Duke" he was witty as well as thoughtful.

From this imperfect, but impartial sketch, the intelligent, unbiassed reader, may judge whether the Prussian government has evinced either statesmanship, or philosophy, in expelling the Jesuits. Has Bismarck, or his imperial master, acted wisely in imitating Victor Emanuel and Guatemala in making war on the teaching fraternities? Have not Englishmen and Englishwomen who have convened public meetings to give expression to their sympathy for those fraternities, and to their emphatic condemnation of their oppressors acted much more wisely, as well as more humanely? If the more enlightened and liberal classes of Americans were capable of being actuated in such circumstances by selfish motives, they would be rather pleased than otherwise with those expulsions, much as they deprecate persecution, since they will undoubtedly cause many excellent teachers to come to this country. For who does not believe that every one trained, competent instructor, would be a more valuable acquisition to us than a score of ignorant, untrained emigrants, whether English, Irish, or German, let the theological views of the instructors, or the emigrants be what they may? For our own part we should be glad to see hundreds of learned Jesuits land on our shores any day, if only for the sake of St. Xavier's and St. John's colleges, for we are wearied of criticising those saintly institutions in the hope—hitherto almost fruitless—of elevating their standard of education, and enabling them to adopt some more honorable motto than that line of Virgil, now so sadly appropriate—

Pascite, ut anté, *boves*, pueri; submittite *tauros*.

ART. IV.—1. *Handbook of Ancient Gems.* By the Rev. C. W. KING, M.A. London.

2. *Recueil de Pierres gravées, etc.* Par J. MARIELLE. Paris.

3. *Recueil de Pierres antiques gravées, etc.* Par J. N. RAPONI. Paris.

THERE is no collection of relics of ancient art, more pleasing to the eye, both on account of the material and the beauty of the workmanship, often found engraved, as a well-chosen and a well-assorted cabinet of gems. No student of ancient art can fail to appreciate the valuable aid which he receives, in the pursuit of his favorite study, from these remains of a by-gone period which thoroughly appreciated art in all its various forms. Pliny, in his Natural History, gives us abundant evidence of the value set by the ancients on their dactyliothecæ. Pompey donated to the capital the dactyliotheca of Mithradates, king of Pontus; his famous rival, Julius Cæsar, consecrated six cabinets of gems to Venus Genetrix; another was presented by Marcellus, son of Octavia, to the Temple of Apollo, on the Palatine Hill.

It is an interesting fact that the gem-like portrait of Mithradates, preserved on his coinage, finds its orignal in an ancient paste; thus proving the already well ascertained fact, that many of the most beautifully finished Greek coins were designed by gem-engravers. The most beautiful of the medallions, presented to the victors at the Syracusan games, are engraved with the name *ΚΙΜΩΝ*, a signature also found on gems; a human-headed bull, inscribed *ΓΕΛΑΣ*, is the type of the coinage of Gela; the full-faced head of the Rhodian Apollo; the head of Arsinöe, wife of Ptolemy Soter; and other types, too numerous to mention, may be brought forward as evidence of the connection between numismatic and glyptic arts. Alexander the Great, not content to be represented by Lysippus, the painter, published an edict forbidding any but Pyrgoteles to engrave his portrait on gems; this example was imitated by the Roman Emperor Augustus, who named Dioscorides,

an engraver, whose works are even now bought up with avidity. The same authority also gives the list of the rings used by Augustus as imperial seals; first a sphinx, then the head of Alexander the Great; and lastly his own portrait.

The famous learned patron of Horace, Mæcenas, used a frog as the stamp to be affixed to all tax collections. The habit of wearing rings is believed to have been introduced into Rome by the Sabines, who, we are told by Livy (I. ii.), wore gold rings, adorned with precious stones. Ambassadors sent on foreign missions, in the early days of the Republic, were presented with gold rings by the state, to be used only on public occasions. In course of time, the habit of wearing gold instead of iron rings became customary among senators, chief magistrates, and *equites*. The *jus annuli aurei*, or right of granting the gold ring, became an imperial prerogative, the first instance being the ring granted by Augustus to his physician, Antoninus Musa. Tiberius ordered that the golden ring should only be worn by those *ingenui* whose fathers and grandfathers had had a property of 400,000 sestertii. The custom, however, soon became common, Severus Alexander conferring the *jus annuli aurei*, on all Roman soldiers; Justinian abolishing the law and granting permission to all free-born Roman citizens to wear the gold ring.

The tyrannical Nero found in the emerald a lense through which he gazed on the gladiatorial sports; the myopism from which he suffered is very apparent on all his existing portraits, whether busts, or on his coins or gems, the eye being deeply sunk under an over-shadowing brow. The following anecdote, gives us another use for this precious stone. "In the island of Cyprus, surmounting the tomb of king Hermæus, near the fisheries, was placed a marble lion with emerald eye-balls, which shone with so much brilliancy over the sea, that the terrified tunny fish swam far away, which greatly puzzled the fishermen till the stones were changed." Though we do not, perhaps, credit the above reason, we may here mention that a large marble lion, discovered in the excavation at Cyprus, and purchased by the British Government, has the eye-balls hollowed out, as if to receive some foreign material.

It is also a well-known fact, that the statue of Pallas Athene, placed in the middle of the Parthenon, had ruby eyes; an idea imitated by the late Duc de Luynes, in his restoration of the Phidian statue, exhibited at the Paris exhibition of 1855. Mr. King, who is obliged to refer very often to the works of Pliny, translates his remarks on most of the precious stones, and we read the following wonderful properties belonging to the amethyst: "About amethysts, the magicians tell us that this stone is an excellent preventive against intoxication, whence its name from (ἀμεθύω), and if engraved with either sun or moon, and then suspended from the neck by the hair of a cynocephalus, or feather of a swallow, it will resist magic potions, assure approach to kings, avert hail and the depredations of the locust. They also promise the same virtues to an emerald, if engraved with either an eagle or beetle. The agates of India are used by medical men to make mortars, and are good for sore eyes to look at; they assuage thirst when put in the mouth. The smoke of agates from Persia, when burnt, is good to avert tempest, and turn the fall of thunderbolts. When thrown in a cauldron of boiling water, they cool it off; that they may avail they must be fastened to the hair from the mane of a lion, for the hair of the lynx is an abomination, producing discord in families."

In an artistic point of view, gems help to form, in a great measure, a taste for, and knowledge of, antique art; more especially as, through the minuteness of the work, a close examination of the various details is strictly necessary; a necessity not felt when gazing on larger works which have come down to our time.

Scenes from mythology are more frequently represented on gems than on coins or reliefs. The pottery of the ancients was largely adorned with scenes taken from the Iliad; the loves of the Gods, the labors of Hercules, the Argonautic expedition, *inter alia*, being favorite subjects. These, in smaller detail, are found on gems and pastes. It may be necessary here to interpret the word paste to such of our readers as may not have taken more than a cursory interest in this subject. After having engraved his gem, the artist, anxious to

preserve some duplicate. usually made an impression in clay, which he used as a matrix to receive molten glass, colored so as to represent the original material. After the glass had cooled and formed the matrix it was broken, and the impression preserved in the shop of the engraver. The European museums possess more of these impressons, taken from gems of fine Greek work, than original gems. The greater quantity of gems preserved in Europe being either Græco-Roman, or of the Augustan age, or Roman of the period of the Antonines. The stones most frequently used were the sard or carnelian, plasma or prase, the amethyst, beryl, aquamarine, garnet, onyx, sardonyx, nicolo, chalcedony, jasper (in all its colors); more rarely emeralds, rubies and jacinths. There is no mention made by any museum of possessing an engraved diamond, which the hardness of the material easily explains. The Vulgate, in the description given of the Urim and Thummim, instead of mentioning the "diamond," which is to be found in the English version, places in its stead an agate. When we remember that each stone was cut *en cabochon*, or tallow-drop, having the name of the tribe engraved upon it, it is more than probable that the account given in the Vulgate would be the more correct.

The plan adopted in the arrangement of the gems in the British Museum, is the classification by subjects, and not by age, or artistic qualification, a plan more interesting to a casual visitor, and which most of the other museums have adopted. We find first, the divinities of the classical mythologies, arranged with their attributes, and with the various myths relating to each. The Hesiodic theogony serves as a guide. *Ζεύς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τετυκται,* finds no engraver capable of imagining the dread deity in his wrath as the subduer of the Titans; the more pleasing subject of his amours being chosen as fitting to be represented on the peaceful signet. *Χρυσόθρονος, λευκώλενος Ἥρη.* Juno, the white-armed mistress of the golden throne, was too powerful an idea for so small a surface as a gem and though some authors have seen in heads bound with a sphendone the *βοῶπις Ἥρη,* the evidence has not been sufficient to warrant the nomenclature. The other deities, such as Possi-

don, Dionysos, Hermes, Helios, Hephæstos, γλαυχῶπις Ἀθήνη, Artemis, Aphrodite (Cuidi Paphique regina), do not take the same important part, which we find in the numismatic series. In this latter, the coins of Syracuse, Tarantum, Metapontum and other corn-growing districts have engraved on them, with delicacy and skill, the head of Proserpine, the daughter of corn-loving Demeter; Athens bears as the type of its coinage the head of the virgin-goddess; Macedonia engraved the bust of the young Hercules, altered by Lysimachus, after the death of Alexander, into the portrait of this conqueror, who proudly boasted, "Terras gentibus aperiam."

As we have already remarked, few gems of Greek work have come down to our time; Roman ideality not being so fervid, the gems are more abundant in portraits of emperors than of deities. This branch of mythological study, however, is amply rewarded by the abundance of subjects to be found engraved on the *scarabs* or beetle-shaped jewelry, which have happily been preserved in great quantities. The labors of Hercules, and the adventures of the Argonauts in their search for the golden fleece, being represented very frequently, though often in a very archaic manner. Æetes in pursuit of the Argo, stopping to collect the limbs of his son; Apsyrtus, slain by the advice of Medea; Tantalus striving to assuage his thirst from the ever disappearing brook; Lysippus, the discoverer of the amour of Zeus with the nymph Ægina, rolling up the steep hill the fast descending rock; Hermes leading Io to Zeus; the winged foot crushing the butterfly; emblem of death overtaking life; and many such myths are found to abound.

Bacchic subjects delighted the engravers who chose, on account of its rich wine color, the sard as a favorite material. Bacchantes are engraved "con amore," and the Bacchic frenzy seems to agree with the modern notions of intoxication. Dionysos, having repaired to Thebes, accompanied by his female Asiatic followers, was greeted by Cadmus, and acknowleged and worshiped as a divinity. Pentheus, the king, who had succeeded the aged Cadmus, opposed the new worship and its ceremonies, ill treating the god himself.

Following his mother Agari and her sister worshipers, who had hastened to celebrate the rites on Mount Kithæron, Pentheus was discovered, seized, and slain by the furious Bacchantæ; Agari herself leading the assault, and carrying back in triumph to Thebes the head of her slaughtered son. This had, in former days, been described in the museum catalogues as a muse holding a mask, but since the study of gem-engraving has become more popular, greater attention has been paid to the deciphering of myths and labelling of gems.

Another legend often found engraved is that of Prometheus. This Titan, jealous of the increasing power of Zeus, determined to trick him into an imprudent choice. He therefore divided a large steer into two portions. On the one side he placed the flesh and guts, covered over with the skin, on the other he put the bones, enveloped in fat. He then called upon Zeus to determine which of these portions mankind should sacrifice to the gods. Zeus chose the white fat, but was enraged on discovering nothing but the bones. In revenge for the trick played upon him he determined to withhold from mankind the gift of fire. Prometheus, however, stole this inestimable comfort and brought it down to earth in the hollow of a ferrule. As a punishment, the Titan is seized, bound to a rock, and an eagle is sent to feed on his liver, which grew afresh every night. Æschylus, in his celebrated tragedy, does not continue the legend, with the myth of Pandora, an addition to be found in Hesiod. Horace also mentions the sequel in the third ode of the first book:

> "Audax Japeti genus
> Ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit:
> Post ignem ætheria domus
> Subductum, macies, et nova febrium
> Terris incubuit cohors;
> Semotique prius tarda necessitas
> Lethi corripuit gradum."

The "nova cohors febrium" recalls to us the many gems engraved with the busts or figures of Asklepios and Hygieia. Representations of these deities are common, both on gems and on the *denarii* of the Antonines. A gem, the proper

of the late Duc de Blacas, has obtained a European reputation on account of the beauty of its workmanship, which greatly resembles, in treatment and character, that of the bust discovered in the island of Melos. The up-turned eyes and semi-parted lips being the ancient personification of a deity praying for inspiration in his endeavors to succour humanity. Homer, in his hymn to Asklepios, names him son of Apollo by the nymph Koroniz. *Ἰητῆρα νόσων, Ἀσκληπιὸν ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν, υἱὸν Ἀπολλωνος, τὸν ἐγείνατο δια Κορωνις.*" Zeus, ever jealous of his power, seeing that Æsculapius not only cured, but restored men to life, smote Æsculapius with thunder, which so exasperated Apollo that he killed Cyclopes, who had fabricated the thunderbolt. Latona had to intercede with Zeus for her son, whom *νεφεληγερὲτα Ζευς*, "the cloud compeller," had condemned to Tartarus. Preller, in his "Mythologie," gives an interesting account of the Roman worship of Æsculapius and Hygia. The curse uttered by Œdipus against his sons, and his prayer that they might slaughter one another, resulted in the siege of Thebes. The seven principal chiefs were Adrastes, Amphiaræus, Kapaneus, Hippomedon, Parthenopæus, Polynikes, and Tydeus. The efforts of these warriors were, at first, successful; but the youth, Menœkeus, son of Creon, having offered himself a willing sacrifice to Ares, the gods took Thebes under their protection. Capaneus, having planted a scaling-ladder against the walls of the sacred city, was hurled to the ground by a thunderbolt from Zeus. This scene is a favorite engraving on scarabs, the falling warrior being represented helmeted, with the thunderbolt striking his shoulder. Sthenelas, son of Capaneus, answers Agamemnon in the 4th book of the Illiad:

> "Atrides, speak not falsely when thou know'st
> The truth so well. Assuredly we claim
> To be far braver than our fathers were.
> We took seven-gated Thebes with fewer troops
> Than theirs, when, trusting in the omens sent
> From heaven, and in the aid of Jupiter
> We led our men beneath the city walls
> Sacred to Mars. Our fathers perished then
> Through their own folly. Therefore, never seek
> To place them in the same degree with us."

The Gorgon Medusa, slain by Perseus at the instigation of Minerva, who seems to have inherited the jealous disposition of her omnipotent father, is another subject which is to be found more especially engraved, The beautiful Gorgon whose loveliness attracted the attentions of the gods of the sterner sex, has more an appearance of sleep than of death; the serpents coiling around her head lend a graceful appearance to the face beneath, and the materials chosen by the ancient engraver, usually a sard or amethyst, blends in the general harmony, making these gems favorite and unique relics. Previous to closing our remarks on the mythical value of gems, we would here direct the attention of those interested in the subject to the work of one who has lately passed away, leaving behind him "monumentum ære perennius." Mr. Grote's "History of Greece" has only to be read to be appreciated. It is a work to us full of deep learning and enthusiasm for the subjects on which he so learnedly and eloquently descants. Were it not that space forbids, we should feel tempted to copy out, at length, his remarks on "Grecian Myths, as understood, felt and interpreted by the Greeks themselves." As it is, we point out this chapter as one deserving of the most careful study, confident that in doing so we indicate to our readers a rich intellectual repast; the ideas of a student who deeply studied ere he wrote, and whose style is embued with the classic feeling of his ancient masters. Profs. Curtius, Gerhard, O. Jahn, Müller, Brum, are German authors, who have treated the art of gem-engraving in a scientific and interesting manner. M. de Chabouillet has also written a useful "Catalogue des Pierres gravées, et des Camées de la Bibliothique Impériale." Several articles have also been written in the "Archæological Review of Great Britain and Ireland;" the "Revue Archéologique of France," and the "Revue de la Commisson Impériale of Russia." The late Dean Milman published an edition of Horace, illustrated by gems, the greater part being, however, what are technically termed forgeries, or *unique-cento*, and modern imitations of the antique. Mr. King has also published an edition of the same author, illustrated in the same manner, though we regret to say that

the specimens selected do not do credit to his taste or judgment, the gems being mostly small, unimportant specimens, chosen from his own, or other private collections utterly unknown to the general public. This is to be regretted, as the museums of Great Britain, France, Germany, or Russia, would have furnished him with specimens of greater interest, and of greater beauty of workmanship. At the present moment we have no edition of any classic author, illustrated in a fitting manner, from the many remains of the art of their own day, to be found stored in the cabinets and galleries of the European museums.

From an iconographic point of view, gems are exceedingly interesting. The portraits of the various emperors and empresses, who, in governing Rome, ruled the interests of the then-known world, being abundant. The largest known portrait cameo became the possession of the British Museum at the death of the late Duc de Blacas. It represents the Divas Augustus, wearing the ægis on his breast and holding a lance. The workman has cunningly brought out the strata of the various-colored sardonyx, which he has chosen as his material; the bust and features being carved on a white ground, the ægis and ornaments in a light brown, the background being of a much deeper and richer brown. The largest known cameo is the property of the Bibliothique Nationale of France, having been bequeathed to that institution by the late Duc de Luynes; it represents the "Apotheosis of Augustus," and is generally considered to be the finest cameo extant, both for work and size, measuring (to the best of our recollection), a little over nine inches in length, by seven in breadth.

Portraits of Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Puis, L. Venus, Gallienus, with the empresses are numerous; though some, like the portrait of Julia Titi, by Enodus; of "Care Mœcenas eques," by Solonos, are considered unique on account of the beauty of their finish. A small engraved chrysoprase has been labelled Horace, owing to its similarity to a *contorniateis*, or Roman prize medal, bearing the name of the genial author. Though cortorniati exist, bearing portraits of Virgil and Salust, no gem has yet been

discovered bearing the portraits of these authors. Rare portraits exist, in the cabinet of the British Museum, of Pescennius Niger, Julius Didianus, Posthumus, Severus, which agree with the *aurei* of these emperors. An intimate connection will be found to exist between the study of numismatics, and that of gems, and a knowledge of the former will ensure success towards an appreciation of the latter, more especially in portraiture, styles of art, and in affixing dates or periods. The gems in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough have lately been catalogued by Prof. Maskelyne. In this catalogue, the professor has asserted his ideas as to the periods and styles of art, and though not prepared to agree in all the dates mentioned, yet we acknowledge with pleasure his thorough appreciation and knowledge of art of ancient coinage.

The collector ought always to remember that gems are easier to imitate, and more often palmed off as genuine, than any other of the many branches of antiquarian lore. Even at the time of Pliny, forgers and forgeries were so common, that he begins a chapter, with the following lamentation, since uttered by many, who, like him, seek to winnow the real from the false: "Veras e falsis discernendi magna difficultas." He then proceeds to state that authors, whose names he will not condescend to mention, give details as to how gems may best be imitated. A sardonyx is made by three stones fastened together with such art that it is impossible to tell the true from the false; first, a black, then a white, lastly a vermilion, all taken from the best stones of their kind, and so placed as to best imitate the various strata of the real stone, when carved by an artist. Neque est ulla fraus vitæ lucrosion. (Cf. Hardouni's edition.) Salomia, wife of the emperor Gallianus, herself a collector of gems, having been imposed upon by a jeweler, demanded from her husband that the unfortunate wretch should be cast to the lions at the approaching games. Forced into the arena, on the appointed day, shivering with fear, the unhappy forger prepared for death; but the door of the cage being flung open, with all due caution, out strutted a rooster, who greeted his supposed victim with a hearty crow. Gallienus considered the fright sufficient punishment; and we may well suppose,

that the jeweler left imitations to be attempted by those who had not faced the danger to which he had exposed himself.

It is very common even now, to find signatures on gems, which have been placed on modern works. The names ΑΥΛΟΥ. ΑΔΜΩΝ. ΔΙΟΙ (for Dioscorides), ΞΩΟΔΟΙ. ΠΥΡ (for Pyrgoteles), and many others, too numerous to mention, being generally affixed to a worthless intaglio, or cameo. The subject of signatures has often been discussed in the *Archäologischer Zeitung*, and other foreign perodicals; the general impression of the learned writers being, that general signatures, as a rule, are very rare, for the most part falsified. The many private and public collections of these beauteous remains of antique art, have, however, of late years, largely increased their numbers, and by a careful study of these, the amateur will get his mind so imbued with the love of art, that his eye will be guided in the detection of the many imitations which unscrupulous rogues may try to pass off as genuine antiques.

ART. V.—*The Student's Mythology. A Compendium of Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, Hindoo, Chinese, Thibetian, Scandinavian, Celtic, Aztec, and Peruvian Mythologies, in accordance with standard authorities. Arranged for the use of Schools and Academies.* By C. A. WHITE. Pp. 315. New York. W. J. Widdleton, Publisher. 1870.

BEFORE asking any of our readers, Catholic or Protestant, whether this is the sort of "catechism" we should expect from a Christian convent, we beg leave to make a few remarks, which may serve as a prologue. This privilege, will, we trust, be granted to us all the more readily when we promise to examine the book carefully, and to pass no sentence upon it, until we have done so—until every impartial reader has had samples enough of the work to be able to form an opinion for himself of its character.

Just a year ago we deemed it our duty to intimate, but in as delicate a manner as possible, that one or two of the academies of the female Catholic orders were nothing the better, either intellectually or morally, but rather the worse, for being so near our New York Jesuits and the political friends whose projects the professors of St. Xavier's and St. John's aided so well. By this we did not mean to attribute any unchaste or dishonest conduct to either Sisters or Fathers; nor do we now. We have confined ourselves, in the past, exclusively to the qualifications and characters of each, as educators, and shall pursue no different course in the future.

But at present our attention must be directed chiefly to the ladies of the Sacred Heart. We regret that the language in which we feel called upon to discuss their system of education cannot be that of approbation. But as it is in the case of the Jesuits, so it is in the case of their spiritual sisters. On no occasion have we condemned the whole order of the former, as educators, but always cheerfully admitted that only a small number deserve to be censured; and still less have we condemned, or would we condemn, the whole order of the latter.

That ladies, in every sense exemplary and above reproach, belong to the order of the Sacred Heart, far be it from us to deny—nay, most cheerfully do we bear testimony to the fact that such belong to the institution, which, above all others of its kind in this country, is, in our opinion, in most need of reformation. There are ladies at Manhattanville—at least there were, not long since—who, if they had their own will, could not be induced by any influences, however potent, to swerve from the path of rectitude and honor, or to betray the confidence of those who, whether Protestants or Catholics, entrust them with the education of their daughters.

But, unfortunately, it is not ladies of this class that are always in power. They are much more likely, in certain circumstances, to be deprived of all power, and placed under subjection to those whose only capacity is a business capacity; whose only learning is the learning of Mrs. Sausage, the boarding-house-keeper; whose only piety is the piety of thrift; and whose chief deity is Mammon, the deity who gives occasional

contributions of money, even though it be stolen money. Ladies of culture and talent, however gentle and pious, however large their stock of patience, or however prone to resignation, sometimes find it rather humiliating and irksome to be obliged to render implicit obedience in all things to such a "superioress." But they know that the mildest remonstrance—a remonstrance that assumes no more rebellious form than that of a tear, renders them liable to be removed at an hour's notice, or subjected to certain other pains and penalties.

For years we have been listening to the regrets of educated and enlightened Catholics for this state of things; but although in several instances those Catholics were eye-witnesses, whose veracity we could not question for a moment, we long clung to the opinion that there must have been some mistake on the part of our informants. In short, we never believed the worst until it was impossible for us to be skeptical any longer; even then we found it difficult to believe our eyes and ears. What we allude to particularly, is this; we had long refused to believe that the ladies of the Sacred Heart could be induced by any influences, either spiritual or material, to become the allies of those politicians, who, boasting that they carry the Irish vote in their pocket—having secured it without troubling themselves with the voters—claimed the right to rule and plunder New York.

From what we knew of nuns and nunneries in Europe and America, bearing in mind how often and how cruelly they have been wronged, even by their own people, it seemed to us utterly impossible that the ladies of the Sacred Heart, could be induced to take the part of the Ring, when justly criticised for its notorious iniquities. They may, thought we, have aided Sweeny and his gang in obtaining power, but surely they would not attempt to screen them from exposure, when they must know them to be guilty of systematic, wholesale thievery.

Such were our thoughts when, as most of our readers are aware, we were assailed in the most scurrilous and vile language by no fewer than fifty Ring organs, for having dared to write and publish such an article as "The Central Park under Ring Leader Rule." It is now well known that before

this article was published at all—a few days after it was put in type—the Ring lawyer, Mr. David Dudley Field, had made several visits to our office, and invited us to his residence for the avowed purpose of buying this journal, or a part of it if we should be unwilling to sell the whole.

It is, also, well known that on the very day it was published Mayor Hall issued a sort of a proclamation against it, in the *Herald*, alleging that we were actuated by spite and malice; that Sweeny and his colleagues were above reproach—all high-minded, honorable men. This proclamation was published as an advertisement in several papers, at the expense of the tax-payers; partly to convince the credulous how innocent the Ring was, and partly to stimulate the zeal of its organs, so that they might throw as much dirt at us as possible.*

While thus assailed by the hired organs of the Ring—while receiving letters of sympathy from all parts of the country, as well as from New York, not only from subscribers and patrons, but from numbers whom we had never known before—while we could not observe the slightest distinction of sect or party in those letters, we find three communications among the pile forming exceptions to the most gratifying general rule it has ever been our privilege to examine.† One proves

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* It is but justice to say that instead of taking any part against us, the *Herald*, sometimes accused of being friendly to the Ring, allowed us to dispose fully in its columns of the Doge-like, base proceeding of Hall, and show the public how disinterested and truthful was his defence of Sweeny. If the *World* joined the mob of hirelings that abused us, day after day, for doing our duty, the fact escaped our observation; indeed, we are pretty sure that its principal editor had a higher sense of justice and of shame, than to act a part so like that of the pot-house bully, or the Thug. As for the *Times*, its vigorous and well-directed blows fell daily with crushing weight both on the figure-head champion and his "high-minded" colleagues.

† Were we to publish the briefest extracts from the kind, friendly letters of distinguished men and women, including the greatest and best in the United States, we could fill an octavo volume with expressions of the most generous sympathy. But we have never done anything of the kind. Even our enemies, including those who abuse us in bad English, need have no fear that we will publish their private letters against their will. We leave the contrary course to dishonest politicians having no regard for the decencies of life, but

to be from a Rev. Father of St. Xavier's College, New York; another from a Rev. Sister of the Sacred Heart Academy, Manhattanville, and the third from a Rev. Mother of the Sisters of Charity Academy, Mount St. Vincent. The three were not written the same day, or by the same hand; but they breathed exactly the same spirit—not the spirit of St. Xavier or St. John, but the spirit of the good fathers who now pretend to represent those saints. The good father orders us to stop the Review, the good mother gives us exactly the same order, and the good sister orders us to stop printing the Sacred Heart prospectus.

Nothing could be more unjust, or, indeed, more absurd than to regard these three letters as an index of Catholic feeling in regard to our battle with the Ring. We shall never forget that on the very day upon which we received, from the Academy of the Sacred Heart, the letter alluded to, we received another from the Academy of the Visitation, at Georgetown, D. C. But what a contrast do the two nuns present to each other! While one withdraws a prospectus which we had in-

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capable of any baseness which they think may aid them in concealing their dishonesty. As for publishing, for any purpose whatever, letters written to us in that frank, friendly confidence, in which one gentleman or lady writes to another, not dreaming that that confidence will be violated, we trust we shall never be capable of such infamy.

Even from California, we had several such letters. From citizens of San Francisco, as well as those of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and St. Louis, we had invitations to draw on them for money, in the event of our needing any, to maintain our rights as a public journalist, well aware as they were of the character of the gang whose enmity we had incurred, and who were then all powerful, having control of all the government machinery necessary to persecute and oppress. As an instance of the generosity thus evinced by subscribers in all parts of the country, we may be permitted to mention the noble offer of Mr. William Hayes, a distinguished member of the San Francisco bar, to place at our disposal any amount we might require. Had we the greediness or the avarice of some of the pious sympathizers with the Ring an opportunity was thus presented to us of filling our coffers; but not one dollar have we asked or accepted from any one on any such condition or for any such purpose. We mention this gentleman because it does him additional honor to show that neither the distance of thousands of miles, nor his being himself a leading, zealous, active democrat, could render him blind to the character and motives of those who so foully assailed us.

serted for half price, on the representation that the academy was poor, the other sends us a list of subscribers, including the daughters of leading men, jurists, physicians, army officers, etc., in various parts of the country, accompanied with a cashier's check on a New York bank. Soon after we have the honor and the gratification of receiving a similar letter from St. Mary's Academy, Notre Dame, Ind., conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross. And by none have we been treated more kindly than by the Sisters of Mount de Chantal Academy, near Wheeling, Va., both before and after our grappling with the Ring. Nor have we to go so far even as Georgetown for instances of kindness and generosity—most agreeable evidences of appreciation of our humble labors in behalf of education—on the part of the female Catholic orders engaged in teaching. Until we attacked the Ring, and were abused by its organs, we had no knowledge of the academy conducted by the Sisters of the Visitation, so near us as Brooklyn; and the first information we receive of it is in the form of a most complimentary, kind letter from its superioress, enclosing the subscription of her academy, and expressing a wish that we may be able to furnish all the back numbers.

There is not one of these four institutions whose principal teachers are not vastly better qualified, by education and talent, and much more refined ladies, than those of the Sacred Heart Academy. As for Georgetown Academy of the Visitation, it is as much superior to the Manhattan Academy of the Sacred Heart* as Georgetown College is to St.

* A slight illustration of this may not be uninteresting. On the principle of judging the tree by its fruit, let us compare the Sacred Heart Academy with St. Mary's Academy. Few Eastern people would expect to find a modest female institution in Indiana equal to a very pretentious one in the suburbs of New York. Some three years since, while travelling in the West, we availed ourselves of a kind invitation to visit St. Mary's, with which we had been honored some time previously by one of its most accomplished teachers. It so happened that it was during vacation, The sisters expressed their regret that we did not come at a time when we could hear the recitations. As it was, however, they were determined that we should have some opportunity of judging whether St. Mary's was anything the less competent, as a seminary for the education of young ladies, for being situated in the "Hoosier State." Accordingly, the good lady who invited us conducts us to a

Xavier's, New York, or St. John's, Fordham. The cause is this: the Georgetown Academy, as well as the Manhattanville Academy, is under the influence of the Jesuits; but the Georgetown Jesuits and the New York Jesuits are very different from each other, both as educators and men.

Our readers are aware that this is not the first time we have pointed out this distinction; we did so more than seven years ago. Not only have we contrasted Georgetown College with our New York Jesuit colleges, on several occasions, indicating the immense superiority of the former, but we have also contrasted the *influences* exercised by those institutions, and the fruits of those influences. We have intimated that there is no Tammany Ring at Georgetown; no large, wealthy, commercial city which those who can secure the Irish vote may plunder—in a word, no municipal thieves who think they can rob the more easily in future if they show, by

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room in which one of the sisters shows us some fine specimens of needlework done by the students. In another room another sister shows us several essays written by the young ladies, whose names are affixed to them. Passing along the corridor we are conducted to another room in which there is an Italian lady, to whom we are introduced, and who performs several exquisite pieces on the piano, concluding by singing, to her own accompaniment, with one of the sweetest, tenderest voices we have ever heard, the noble *Stabat Mater*. We forget now whether it was a Spanish or French sister who honored us in a similar manner, performing several gems on the guitar. Thus we were introduced in turn to American, English, Irish, French, Italian, and German ladies, each of whom treated us with some mark of courtesy. Finally the good superioress insisted on our dining at the Academy, in company with the chaplain of the institution. Then, having visited Georgetown Academy, while the students were present, we had the honor of being treated to one of the most delightful amateur concerts we have ever heard. One young lady performs on the piano, and sings; another on the guitar; another on the harp; another sings most sweetly a beautiful solo, etc. We did not wonder at finding even such charming evidences of superior culture at an institution so famous as Georgetown Academy; but we confess we were quite astonished at what we saw and heard so far to the West as St. Mary's, Notre Dame.

Now what of the Sacred Heart Academy? Some will say, perhaps, "You are too great a sinner to be let inside the door there!" Not so, however. We have been shown more there than at either Notre Dame or Georgetown; but there was a great difference in kind. It is true, that at the Sacred Heart we have not been shown any essays written by the students; any guitars or

sending their sons and daughters to the fathers and sisters, or by presenting them large donations from their stolen wealth, how friendly they are to the Catholic church.

We think that when all these circumstances are considered, it will be admitted that we had no right to be surprised at the *striking* contrast presented by the letters which we received from Manhattanville, St. Vincent's, and Georgetown; nay, it will be admitted that even if we had not been previously aware of the high character of St. Mary's Academy, Notre Dame, we had a right to expect more real culture, as well as more genuine Christian principle from that institution, removed as it is, in its charming solitude from all corrupting influences, than from the academies of Manhattanville and St. Vincent—especially from the pet of such statesmen, lawgivers, and moralists as Peter B. Sweeny, A.

harps or other elegant instruments; nor have we been permitted to hear any recitations, or any music, either instrumental or vocal. But at that institution we have been shown, and more than once, the young ladies' bed-rooms, their beds, and their dresses! We have been shown even the infirmary, as well as Madam Hardie's parrots and her rosaries. Thus, we may have been shown fine needlework at the Sacred Heart, but if so it was on the young ladies' beds or on their night dresses. We do not pretend to think that there was any serious impropriety on the part of the nuns of the Sacred Heart in showing what good laundresses, seamstresses, and floor-moppers there are about Manhattanville, but we think it would have been somewhat better, and a little more discreet to have shown some of the young ladies' essays, translations, drawings, text-books, etc. Nothing, however, of the latter kind—nothing intellectual—has ever been shown us at that institution. We once criticised Vassar College; but in doing so we had nothing but good to say of the lady professors. These ladies, like the sisters of Georgetown and Notre Dame, thought it more suitable to show us their students' class-rooms than their bed-rooms, and they thought it more suitable to conduct us to the dining-room than to the infirmary. It may be asked, then, if the accomplished fair professors of Vassar treated us kindly (as they certainly did) why did we criticise that institution? Our reply is that we did so in accordance with the principle of Voltaire, who truly says, that there are ladies capable of governing kingdoms and empires, but the misfortune is that those very ladies will allow themselves to be governed by men who have not understanding enough to govern a dozen pullets. Perhaps the ladies of the Sacred Heart ought to be excused on the same ground, for when anything of the kind is intimated to Madam Hardie, she says nothing, but shakes her head knowingly, and laughs piously!

Oakey Hall, Thomas C. Fields, etc., etc. Be this as it may we confess that the three documents received by us from fathers, mothers, and sisters, during our battle with the Ring, reminded us of nothing more forcibly than those lines of Juvenal, in which the satirist is supposed to allude to influences exercised by certain sanctimonious parties on the Vestal Virgins, and in which he ironically exclaims, "How happy those nations are whose divinities, grow in their gardens!"

O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis numina!*

Had the Catholic clergy of New York, or elsewhere, or any of the Catholic orders—whether brotherhoods or sisterhoods—not under the influence of New York and Fordham Jesuits, evinced to us any such feeling—that is, any sympathy with the Ring, or any opposition to us for attacking it—then we should not have wondered so much at the course of the representatives of the Sacred Heart and St. Vincent. But most cheerfully, nay, gratefully, do we bear testimony to the fact that the priests pursued directly the opposite course. We could mention a large number, who, instead of withdrawing their subscriptions, doubled or trebled them. The solitary exception to this was the Rev. Father Farrell. Even Father Farrell, although said to be a little eccentric, was in no indecent haste. He was more the Christian and the gentleman than to announce to us the stopping of his five dollars a year subscription, while the blood-hounds of the Ring were howling at us and whetting their fangs to tear ourselves and our journal into shreds. He waited until Sweeny, Hall & Co. had done their best and their worst to crush us, but failed to hurt a hair in our head.

As for the Christian Brothers, who had been our steady, faithful friends for many years, they proved more friendly and generous to us now than ever, if that were possible. They had no fear of sympathizing with us openly against the Ring. They could have got a full share, as well as the Jesuits or their *protegées*. of the plundered money, but they spurned it as a

* Sat. xv. 10.

base, degrading thing. Accordingly, well might we regard it as an honor to be visited by two of these good men—the presidents of two colleges—ninety miles from New York, while the public plunderers are doing all in their power to strike us down. Nor was it alone assurances of sympathy and good will which they brought us, and which would have been most consoling to us, knowing, as we did, from long experience, how sincere they were; they also offered to us, with the modesty and good grace characteristic of them, an increase of patronage, the increase consisting in the insertion of the prospectus of a third college of theirs—that of Rockhill, which has appeared in the advertising department of every number we have issued since.

This showed how much the Christian Brothers cared for the Ring, and how much they differed from its saintly and unsaintly supporters and friends. But it was not all. Their Provincial offered to accompany us to the Fort Washington residence of Mr. Charles O'Conor, in order that we might have the opinion of the great jurist relative to the base persecution to which we were subjected for having performed our legitimate duty as a reviewer. We had always thought highly of Mr. O'Conor, both as a lawyer and a gentleman. He was one of our first subscribers, and had never ceased to be courteous and friendly. In illustration of this it would be sufficient to say that, regularly every year, he has sent his assistant—a member of the bar, and a gentleman of liberal education and fine culture—to pay his subscription. Never, to this day, has he failed in a single instance to do so. If there was a change during our battle with the Ring, it was one for the better; the amiable old gentleman, who loves and admires Mr. O'Conor so much, came earlier than usual, bringing words of sympathy and encouragement with his subscription. We may be permitted to remark, in passing, that there is another gentleman, whom his fellow citizens also love to honor, who has pursued toward us exactly the same course; we mean General John A. Dix—also one of our first subscribers—who, even while the secession rebellion was raging, used to send his aid-de-camp to our office with subscriptions, and has since

deigned to send his son many a time on the same errand—in a word, never failed to send a gentleman.

But it is with the great jurist we have to do just now. We only want to place the two names, O'Conor and Dix, side by side—names almost sufficient to redeem the character of a whole community. Never did we spend a pleasanter day than we did with Mr. O'Conor, several years ago, at his Fort Washington residence, or rather between his residence and High Bridge. Never did we profit more by the conversation of any individual than we did that day by the conversation of Mr. O'Conor, as we sat with him in his library for hours, with even the floor almost covered with books. Many times since have we recalled it, in public and private, as an intellectual repast of the highest order—one but rarely enjoyed in a lifetime. Still the great jurist surprised us on the occasion of our visit in regard to the Ring. He rose far above the highest estimate we had previously formed of his character. His indignant, eloquent, scathing denunciations of the principal members of the Ring astonished us; it has often occurred to us since, how wonderfully prophetic his fierce, burning words have proved, for none of the figures, or forged vouchers proving their guilt had yet been published. Never shall we forget the expression of that pale, intellectual face, now lit up with indignation, the lips alternately compressed and quivering, those grey eyes glistening and full of fire, and that long, bony-finger pointing and shaking while, with a few admirably chosen, energetic words, he portrayed to the life, the base character of each of the chief conspirators. Deeply as the language and gestures of Mr. O'Conor impressed us, making us feel really as if spell-bound, we could not help recollecting some of the noblest thoughts of Cicero; and not his forensic thoughts, but more sublime thoughts, those in his great philosophical work on the Nature of the Gods, especially in that passage in which he describes Justice as a benevolent divinity that renders to every one, in turn, his due.

Justitia suum cuique distribuit.*

* De Natura Deorum, iii. 15.

After Mr. O'Conor had thus photographed the Ring leader and his colleagues, his voice and manner underwent a profound change; with all the gentleness and tender sympathy of a woman, he said: "Have no fear of these base men. They have done their worst to you, with their foul abuse, which will do you more good than harm. Their power will not last long. It is not in the nature of things that their day of retribution should be far distant. But if they should annoy you any further I shall be ready to meet your lawyer at his office, at your office, or at my office, to exercise in your behalf whatever legal knowledge I possess after an experience of half a century."

If these noble words have not proved prophetic none ever have. But even Mr. O'Conor's kind and generous offers did not give us so high an opinion of his stern integrity and unbiased love of justice as a remark or two he made afterwards. Because Mr. O'Conor sometimes glories, in his public speeches, in being a Catholic, there are Protestants who think he is bigoted. What his real feeling in this respect was we did not know at this time, for he had never introduced the subject to us, nor had we to him; but we doubted whether it was possible for a man of his extensive knowledge, profoundly logical mind and strong common-sense to be bigoted. However, having just received from the Academy of the Sacred Heart the letter alluded to above, we incidentally mentioned the matter to Mr. O'Conor. Without a moment's hesitation, one of the best lay Catholics in the world replied: "If they are so foolish, what need you care about them? You are not their father confessor!" This convinced us that the venerable father of the American Bar is as much above the influence of bigotry as he is above that of any other off-shoot of ignorance.

To this we need hardly add that our visit to Fort Washington, in the midst of our persecutions, was a most agreeable one. Mr. O'Conor was as kind and generous in offering us the hospitalities of his house, as he was in offering us the benefit of his great learning and abilities as a jurist. Much gratified, as we were, the good Provincial who accompanied us was more so, if possible.

Now, a fact or two will show whether the Provincial had a right to feel justified in taking this friendly interest in our case. Who had a better opportunity of judging whether we deserved to be assailed, as we were, by the Ring, for having exposed its ignorance, and warned the public against its fraudulent propensities, than one in whose employment we had been for five years? It will be seen that there was nothing rash, or unduly hasty in his conduct. Ten years had elapsed since he first knew us as an editor and reviewer, he being President of Manhattan College. After a year's acquaintance—having in the meantime read every number of our journal then published—he addressed us one day thus: "Would you have any objection to lecture on English literature and Latin in a Catholic college?" "None whatever," is our reply. "I know that, although a Protestant, you would introduce nothing sectarian into your lectures. This I am satisfied of from the liberal, cosmopolitan tone of your Review." We could only thank the gentleman for his kind opinion. His next question was relative to the annual salary we should expect for two lectures a week. After some hesitancy we mentioned what we thought would be fair, adding, however, that if he thought this too much we would be satisfied with less. His reply was: "We are but poor; we have no resources but our labors as teachers; yet we are willing to pay you what you ask; indeed, we would offer more if we could afford it."

There was no written agreement—no third person to witness what had been said. But never in five years had we to ask a quarter's salary; it was always sent to us, or handed to us at the college, and always with kind, complimentary words. When the currency became depreciated, during the war, an amount was voluntarily added to our salary which more than counterbalanced the depreciation. First, we went, as intimated, twice a week, and continued to do so for three years. Our editorial labors had now become so heavy a task, and absorbed so much of our time, both day and night, that we began to fear we should resign the position so generously given us. We mentioned our misgivings to the President and Vice-President, who immediately proposed that

in future we should only lecture once a week, and that we should have the same salary as when we lectured twice. This arrangement continued two years. The Provincial and his brethren knew whether we had faithfully performed our duties as a professor during these five years; they remembered whether they had ever seen anything in our conduct unworthy either of a reviewer or an educator. It was because they could remember nothing of the kind, that the Provincial interested himself so warmly in our behalf when we were assailed; it was for the same reason that the two presidents went all the way to Quoque, L. I., to congratulate us on having triumphed over our enemies.

These details, illustrative of the noble generosity of the Christian Brothers—a generosity worthy of the name they bear, and of the good and venerable founder of their order—will not seem either irrelevant or superfluous, when it is remembered that it was our connection with their college, and the high opinion we entertained and often expressed of it, that brought upon us the implacable ill-will of the Jesuits of New York and Fordham. These good fathers can never forgive us for bearing our humble testimony to the fact that the colleges of the Christian Brothers in this country are vastly superior to theirs; and what the fathers cannot forgive, neither mother nor sister of Manhattanville or Mount St. Vincent can forgive. It was, perhaps, but natural, therefore, that the three parties should combine to give a kick (when they think he is down) to one who committed so many mortal sins in his criticisms, in attributing ignorance, vulgarity, petty jealousy, envy, etc., to holy men, profound scholars and great educators—the admiring patrons of those "champions," whose qualifications for preparing students for graduation in the whiskey shop, and lager bier saloon, are so well known. Nor will it seem strange that the fathers, if not the sisters, have, for nearly the same reason, regarded the Provincial, also, as having grievously sinned; since they have been well aware from the beginning, that he is one of those who fully recognize the right of public journalists to give their opinions freely of educational institutions and educators. Several times,

during the five years of our professorship in his college, we offered to resign in order to relieve him from the consequences of the holy horror of the bigots, for allowing a heretic to teach even Latin in a Catholic institution, but, worse than all, for retaining the heretic in his service for a single day after he had dared to criticise these saintly fathers. This, to use again the language of the pagan satirist, was so wicked a thing as scarcely to be expiated by death itself.

Credebant hoc *grande nefas* et morte piandum.*

But the Provincial viewed the whole matter in a different light. To our offers, he would say: "You do your duty as a professor—all you promised, and all I wanted. In regard to your criticisms as a public journalist, I have no right to dictate to you one way or another. It is true that we regard the Archbishop of the diocese as a father, and that what pains him pains us, though it be only a criticism on his educational views or his language. But it would be quite another thing to accept your resignation on account of such a criticism, especially when convinced, as I am, that there is no malice in it; and if I did pursue so narrow-minded a course, the Archbishop would, I am sure, be the first to blame me. No, doctor; continue your lectures as long as it is agreeble to you to do so."

According to the divines of Fordham and St. Xavier's, this was heresy in one of its most alarming and reprehensible forms; and they tried every means—moving heaven and earth—"to stamp it out." Finally the Provincial and his colleagues were obliged to agree with us that it was better for "the heretic" to retire in order to end the strife.† We have

* Juv., xiii. 54.

† It is but justice to the priests in the habit of visiting the institution while we were there, that in not a single instance did they manifest to us any other feeling than one of kindness and good-will; and we may truly add that in no college or university in this country, have we met more accomplished scholars than some of those unassuming and modest priests, who took delight in witnessing the progress of Manhattan. Not only have we found superior Latinists amongst them but also excellent Grecians. In illustration of these remarks, we may be permitted to mention the names of Father Breen, Father Clowry, Father Kensella, Father McGlyn, Father Starr, Father Nicot,

already remarked that we never had to call for our salary during those five years. On the day of our retirement there was not a penny of that salary due to us. But ten days afterwards, the Provincial (Rev. Bro. Patrick), called at our office, and presented us the check of the College for one thousand dollars ($1,000), with the remark: "We feel that this is but a small mark of our appreciation of the faithful and efficient manner in which you performed for us the duties we confided to you." Soon after, the Director of Manhattan College (Rev. Bro. Paulian) inserted its prospectus in our advertising pages. On his inquiry for our rates, we told him that our charge to Manhattan should be one hundred dollars ($100) a year less than we charged others. He thanked us kindly, handed us a check for the amount mentioned, and took his leave. Toward the close of the year, he called again and after his usual friendly salutation, he handed us a hundred dollar bill. "What is this for, Brother Paulian? You paid for your advertisement for the year eight months ago; and, if you remember, you have a receipt in full." "Yes, doctor, I remember; but we have done so well since, and are so fully aware of the service you rendered the College as professor, especially in the department of Latin conversation, we feel that the least that we should do in consideration of that service, is to allow you your full rate for our prospectus."

Such are a few of our experiences of the monastic orders in America. Need we say what contrasts they present! Judging from the undeniable facts thus hurriedly glanced at, should we expect the same sort of teaching from all those orders? Should we expect those capable of being induced to act in a most *un*christian spirit to occupy themselves chiefly in inculcating the ennobling, purifying precepts of Christianity? On the contrary, should we not rather be surprised if we found any real proof of their caring anything about those precepts? Nay, should we not be justified in supposing that the precepts they have most at heart are very different from those taught

Father Nilan. Never did any of these gentlemen meet us at the college, without making us feel that we were welcome, or without convincing us that they recognized no sectarianism in the republic of letters.

by Christ and his disciples? Now, if any doubt whether the question has ceased to be one of mere supposition let them turn their attention to the volume whose title stands at the head of this article; let them ask themselves whether it is the exploits of the gods and goddesses of Greece, Rome, Egypt, etc., the nuns of the Sacred Heart should seek to impress on the minds of the young ladies intrusted to their care. While they are solving this problem we will make another comparison, or two.

We have already compared the sisters of Manhanttanville and Mount St. Vincent to the sisters of other Catholic orders—to the most highly cultivated and most exemplary of those ladies, and asked our readers to observe the contrast. Now a word as to our Protestant educators of young ladies. Why did the ladies of the Sacred Heart feel called upon to withdraw their prospectus, when we criticised the Ring and were assailed by it, more than the Rev. Dr. Van Norman, who had been our patron and friend for a dozen years? Why did the latter, instead of evincing any displeasure at our hurting the feelings of the malefactors, congratulate us on having exposed their chiefs to public scorn? Why did not the President of Rutgers Female College think he had a right to give us a kick? for he, too, had been our patron for many years. Why did he not write at once ordering us to stop his prospectus? But what did he do? One evening, while being assailed by the whole howling pack of the Ring, as we were riding down the Fifth avenue, a gentleman took hold of our bridle rein with one hand and grasped our hand with the other. We turned our head, and saw it was Dr. Pierce. "We are having a reception this evening," said he; "I want you to come, here are tickets." "Doctor do you not observe how I am assailed." "Certainly; that's the very reason I have come out in this manner. Several of my patrons and myself have just been talking of it; we all understand it perfectly, and you may rely on our sympathy." This kind, generous man would not loose his hold of the rein until we had to promise (and we confess it was with no slight emotion we did so) that we would come if possible.

But Drs. Van Norman and Pierce are of the sterner sex. Perhaps ladies should rather believe that the Ring was innocent, especially the great Ring-leader. In this case they would naturally regard the accuser of the Ring as a very wicked person—so wicked, that they ought not, perhaps, to be satisfied on seeing him attacked by a mob without aiding the mob in its good work, if only by dragging him by the hair, or scratching his face! True, this is not characteristic of the gentler sex: it rather reminds us of those who unsex themselves, and of the sad but truthful description of such, by one who knew at least one of them but too well:

"But as for thee, thou false woman!
My sister and my fae,
Grim vengence yet shall whet a sword
That thro' thy soul shall gae!
The weeping blood in woman's breast
Was never known to thee;
Nor th' balm that draps on wounds of woe.
Frae woman's pitying e'e."*

But fortunately there was a lady educator among our New York patrons, at the same time, to vindicate the sex, although she was known to us only by her well-earned fame as an instructor, and by her polite business letters. Why did Mlle. Rostan feel no more called upon than Dr. Van Norman or Dr. Pierce to say "stop" to us while we were assailed by the Ring, since she, too, was numbered among our subscribers and advertisers? Was it because she was incapable of appreciating the noble virtues and brilliant talents of Peter B. Sweeny, A. Oakey Hall, etc.? This, perhaps, is the only theory upon which we can account for the fact that that estimable lady never wrote to us more kindly, or evinced a more friendly feeling in regard to our journal than she has since we dared to exhibit the true character of "ringleader rule," and were pounced upon, as the world knows, for doing so.

But what of the pupils of those different institutions? How do they compare with each other, taking the characters of their parents as criteria? Were any members of the Tam-

* Lament of Mary Queen of Scots on the approach of Spring.

many Ring, or the Erie Ring among the patrons of Mlle. Rostan, Dr. Van Norman, or Dr. Pierce at this time, although those patrons included as good Catholics as any in America? Were any members of those Rings among the patrons of the Manhattanville Academy, or the Mount St. Vincent Academy? Who can answer the former question in the affirmative, or the latter in the negative? That is, Mlle. Rostan was as free from any such influence, and as far removed from bigoted, vindictive advice as the sisters of Georgetown, Mount de Chantal, Notre Dame, and Brooklyn, and accordingly she acted in the same kind, generous, womanly manner in which those good ladies did. In the same way Drs. Van Norman and Pierce owed as little to the Ring as the Christian Brothers, and probably despised its members as much; accordingly, the former were as little disposed as the latter to be otherwise than friendly to us while the vultures and the jackals sought to devour us.

At all events, we think it will be admitted by intelligent Catholics, as well as Protestants, that if nuns residing in the suburbs will make an appointment by letter with a reviewer, when getting up a book of doubtful character, to see him in the city, so that he may not have the trouble to go to the suburbs—if one nun is sent alone for that purpose who makes an arrangement for the insertion of their prospectus, the reviewer taking all in good part, and treating the nun on meeting her with as much deference and consideration as if she had been an ambassador from heaven—if, after all this, without their having ever been disobliged in any manner by him, but often the contrary, those nuns would send such orders to that reviewer as "stop," "stop," when they find him set upon by a mob of malefactors, thus rendering evil for good, it will, we say, be admitted that much is not to be expected from their teaching.

This was exactly our case more than a year ago. We have already remarked that we were never more astonished Had we ever made the slightest criticism on the ladies of the Sacred Heart, we should not have thought the proceeding so strange, or so unlady-like. For the first time we made a few criticisms

on the Manhattanville Academy in our number for September, 1871—just a year ago; but those having the curiosity to turn to the article, entitled "Collegiate and Scholastic Quackery, Male and Female," will see that we were by no means hypercritical. As for severity, we did not say one-tenth of what we felt was eminently deserved. In short, we confined ourselves to a few hints, the justice of which was sufficiently apparent even then, although we omitted to say that stone-throwing from glass houses by nuns was neither a wise nor a creditable pastime, leaving religion and morality altogether out of the question. But the Scriptures say that those who offend in one point are guilty of all. Accordingly we are soon honored with another letter from Manhattan Academy, in which we are informed (*heu me miserum!*) that we are to have no more subscriptions from the Sacred Heart—that those of the academies at Albany and Rochester, as well as that of the Manhattanville institution, are withdrawn, and that we must not in future send the Review to any of the three. We bow to the sentence, and find no fault. The three names are erased, but, by mistake, the next number is sent to one of the Sacred Heart academies. By return of mail we receive it back, accompanied with a note, the substance of which is that our fate in that respect is sealed; the decree has gone forth against us; the good, pious, and *enlightened* superioress at Manhattanville has so ordered it; and the National Quarterly is never again to be admitted within those sacred walls! We wrote back apologizing for the mistake of having failed, in one instance, to do as we were bid, and assuring our pious correspondent that it would not occur again.

Doubtless many of our readers must have come to the conclusion, before this, that the patronage we had from St. Xavier's College, Fordham College, Manhattan Academy, and Mount St. Vincent Academy, before we hurt the feelings of Peter B. Sweeny and his worthy colleagues, must have been quite munificent; but the truth is that we had received much more patronage, as well as more politeness, even from the Jews. Nay, the house of B. L. Solomon & Co., of this city, alone, had given us more in two years

than we had ever received from the four institutions of fathers and sisters. As for literary institutions, we owed more to Columbia College than to the same four, and ten times as much to the University of the City of New York, while its chancellor was the venerable Dr. Ferris. Nay, Mlle. Rostan was a far more generous patron of ours. Still more incredible, perhaps, will it seem that we had derived more patronage, and experienced far more kindness, from one Catholic academy in British America, that of the Ladies of Loretto, at Toronto, than from the four allied institutions; but such, nevertheless, is the fact. Having already borne testimony to the enlightened liberality of other orders—Brothers and Sisters—it is superfluous to make any comparison here in regard to the latter. Suffice it to say, that naturally enough, it is those who have always evinced most bigotry, most penuriousness, most avarice, and most ignorance, who have also evinced most spite, most treachery, most sympathy with Tammany!

But it is time that we take up the catechism of the Sacred Heart nuns; we will do so now, reserving, until we have examined it, our views on the utility and value of mythology as a means of rendering young ladies pious and virtuous! "The work has been compiled," we are told in the preface, "with great care, *from reliable sources*, and will be found to contain much that is *new and interesting*" (p. 3). The italicising must not be attributed to Madam Hardie; that part of the work is ours. It seems that some new gods and goddesses have been discovered of late! How "very reliable" the "sources" are may be inferred from the additional information, in the preface, that, "Reference *has been made throughout* to the New American Cyclopædia" (p. 4). This, of course, may be regarded as a guarantee that the catechism is a standard authority on gods and goddesses.* Accordingly, filled

* It is proper to say, that by this we do not mean to disparage the labors or the intelligence of those under whose supervision that work was compiled. We have never denied that both the editors are men of education and talent; but we have often denied that the publishers possessed the necessary liberality and spirit to pay for suitable matter for a work worthy of the name which

with confidence—sure that we are in the hands of a safe guide, we turn over a few pages and read:

"*Ques.*—What were Juno's faults?

"*Ans.*—She was *very jealous*, and took the most *cruel revenge* of the mortal women whom Jupiter *loved*"* (p. 44).

Turning back a few pages to find Jupiter, our eyes fall on the following:

"*Ans.*—Jupiter was married to Juno, to whom he first appeared in the form of a crow. He *constantly excited her jealousy by his admiration of mortal women*, and *this* gave rise to many *adventures celebrated by the poets*" (p. 25).

What will the young ladies ask each other in regard to this "jealousy," these "many adventures,"† etc.? Will Father Shea have to explain? In reply to the question, "Who was Venus?" the young ladies receive some curious information.

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that alluded to bears. Still it is a useful publication, but we are sure none would laugh more heartily than its editors, at the idea of quoting it as an authority on gods and goddesses!

* The estimate of several of the Fathers of the Church is given as follows by Bayle:

"Elle conçut toûjours d'une façon extraordinaire. Selon l'opinion la plus commune, elle ne fut mère que de trois enfans, qui sont Mars, Volcain, et Hebé. Pour ce qui est de Mars, elle le conçut par l'attouchement d'une fleur que Flore lui indiqua. Elle cherchoit à se venger de son mari, qui avoit produit Minerve tout seul; et à lui montrer qu'elle en pouvoit fair autant sans le secours d'aucun mâle. Pour Vulcain, elle le conçut de vent, par une vertu toute semblable à celles des jumens d'Espagne.—Vide Art., *Hippomanes*, *Dict. Philosoph.*

† Supposing that in their researches to gratify their curiosity they should find the following. We abstain from removing the drapery of a foreign language:

"Il commit inceste avec ses sœurs, avec ses filles, et avec ses tantes. Il jouit de sa sœur Junon sans attendre qu'elle fût sa femme, et puis il l'épousa. J'en parle ailleurs. Il viola son autre sœur Ceres, et en eut Proserpine. Il coucha avec trois de ses tantes, savoir avec Themis, avec Doine, et avec Mnemosyne. De son inceste avec la prémière sortirent les Heures et les Parques; de la seconde il engendra Venus; et il eut de la troisiem les neuf Muses. Aiant vu un jour sa mère endormie, il tâcha de jouir d'ell par surprise.—Bayle, art. *Jupiter*.

Thus, for example: "But Jupiter betrothed her to Vulcan, an ugly and deformed divinity" (p. 49). Alas, there are more than Vulcan who are "ugly and deformed." We turn over a few pages and read as follows:

"*Ques.*—To whom was Vulcan married?

"*Ans.*—Vulcan was married to Venus, *but* that goddess *behaved treacherously* towards him and *attached* herself to Mars" (p. 65).

What comments will the young ladies make on this? Will they ask, was it a sin to be "ugly and deformed?" and if so, whether it justified Venus in having "behaved treacherously," etc. May they not also inquire how, when, or where did she attach herself to Mars? How long did the attachment continue, etc.? Let those who doubt read:

"*Ques.*—What do you say of the festivals of Venus?

"*Ans.*—They were *various*, and *accompanied* by much that was disgraceful and immoral" (p. 50).

How strange this will seem to pious young ladies! But they are told, a page or two farther on, how handsomely "Venus *fulfilled her engagement by aiding him* (Paris) *to carry off* Helen, the beautiful wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta" (p. 52). Will not the innocent student be likely to think that, upon the whole, it must be rather pleasant than otherwise for a "beautiful wife," to be carried off? This question will be the more easily answered when the "catechism" is studied a little more closely. Turn, for instance, to the answer to the question, "Who was Circe?" which concludes thus: "After this Circe *entertained* Ulysses *in a friendly manner*," (p. 96). What did this friendship consist in? Are young girls to be taught that a woman only acts "in a friendly manner" when she is wantonly and barefacedly adulterous?* If not, why have we the same indulgent account of the affair of Calypso? "This goddess," says our saintly author, "*entertained* Ulysses *with much kindness*, and even offered to share her immortality with the hero, if he would consent to forget

* See some expurgated translation of Homer's Odyssey, lib. x, 360, *et seq.* As for the descriptions of Hesiod, Ovid, and others, we do not want to refer to them.

Ithaca, and dwell forever in her happy island" (p. 159). What this "much kindness" consisted in is told by Homer in language as chaste as the nature of the subject would allow;* at the same time we think we shall be excused for not quoting it here. Need we say that for Ulysses "to forget Ithaca" was to forget his faithful wife Penelope.? But what of that? How wives may feel, or what they may think, in such circumstances, is a thing altogether foreign to the object of the Sacred Heart catechism. But one more instance of this kind. In speaking of Dido's *liaison* with Æneas, our pious authoress says, also, of the Trojan hero, that he was "kindly entertained" (p. 172). We are further informed that "she (Dido) resolved, therefore, to share her throne with the hero," etc. (p. 173). What did this "throne" consist of? One critic says it was made of bulrushes—something like the ark in which Pharaoh's daughter found Moses; but another scouts this theory, and insists that it was made of Carthagenian wool, pretending, at the same time, that this is the true orign, after all, of the Roman expression "Punic faith!" Perhaps Father Bapst, who is said to be a good, discreet judge of such things, could explain what sort of a contrivance Dido's "throne" really was. At all events, it did not possess sufficient attraction to detain Æneas more than a few weeks, and the Sacred Heart catechism gives us the following account of the catastrophe:

"Jupiter sent Mercury to the hero, commanding him to embark without delay, and proceed to his destined settlement in Italy. Æneas obeyed, and made the necessary preparations for departure, *disregarding the tears and reproaches* of the queen.

"When Dido found that *all was unavailing*, and that the Trojans had already embarked, she killed herself in despair" (p. 173).

How unappreciative and cruel, the young ladies must think Æneas was! and how much they must admire the tenderness and spirit of Dido! Nay, would it be strange if some of them regarded her conduct as worthy of imitation? Before this question, or any similar one we have proposed above, is an-

* See Odyssey, lib. i, 63, *et seq.* The version of either Pope or Bryant will answer the purpose.

swered, let it be taken into account that the story of Circe, Calypso, or Dido, is very different in the poetry of Homer or Virgil, from what it is in the catechism. The genius and taste of the poet cast a drapery over what is gross, and if the drapery does not entirely conceal it, at least it renders it somewhat subdued in its aspect. Besides, the tendency of the beautiful in poetry, as well as in painting and sculpture, is to divert the mind from the contemplation of what is gross or obscene; in a word, it elevates the thoughts above such contemplation by refining and purifying them. For an illustration of this we need not go beyond Virgil's account of what passed between Dido and Æneas. The poet excites no prurient ideas, even when he makes the love-smitten lady's sister, Anna, lament the calamity of her dying before she can bear children for her lover.

O luce magis delecta sorori
Solâne perpetuâ mœrens carpêre juventâ?
Nec dulces natos, Veneris nec præmia nôris? *

It may well seem incredible, especially to our Catholic readers, that it is those goddesses whose conduct has been most habitually infamous, who receive most attention in a work avowedly designed chiefly, if not exclusively, for young ladies; but that such is the fact, nevertheless, may be seen even from the index. Those goddesses, whose conduct has been comparatively good, and who are the subjects of the finest legends in classic literature, are either barely mentioned or excluded altogether. This is true, for example, of Psyche equally renowned for her beauty, her fidelity, and her misfortunes. If there be one word in the "Student's Mythology," in either the text or index, about this goddess, we have failed, after a pretty diligent search, to find it. There are few of our readers who need to be informed that no ancient story is more touching, or more beautiful, than that of Psyche. It was it which suggested to Moore that exquisite strain in Lalla Rookh,

* Æn. L. iv. 31.

in which the Peri bids farewell to "Araby's daughter," and in which, it will be remembered, the following lines occur:

> "And still when the merry date season is burning,
> And calls to the palm-groves the young and the old,
> The happiest there, from their pastime returning
> At sunset will weep when thy story is told.
> The young village maid, when with flowers she dresses
> Her dark flowing hair for some festival day,
> Will think of thy fate till, neglecting her tresses,
> She mournfully turns from the mirror away."

But it is not alone the divinities of the Greeks and Romans, who are thus glorified, merely mentioned, or ignored altogether, according as they were more or less vicious or otherwise; those of the Egyptians, Hindoos, Scandinavians, and Celts, receive similar treatment, so far as the compiler knows anything about them. This we readily admit is the great difficulty. Indeed we should attribute the whole book only to sheer ignorance and lack of common-sense—at worst to that amount of "learning" which Pope calls "a dangerous thing"—dangerous, especially in the hands of nuns afflicted with the *cacœthes screbendi*, were it not that it contains certain other things different from those we have alluded to. Thus, for instance, our authoress informs the pupils of the Sacred Heart—in referring to the fact that ladies were admitted to dispute the prizes at Olympia—that Cynisca "first opened *this path of glory to her sex*, and was proclaimed conqueror in the *four horse chariot race*" (pp. 193–4). The young misses are further told that "a magnificent monument was erected in Sparta in honor of Cynisca," etc. (*ib*).*

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* Is it strange that those who get up a book which is certainly no more favorable to religion or morality than the "Black Crook," should imitate certain of the performances of the Hon. A. Oakey Hall? Thus, for instance, because our worthy chief magistrate finds some remarks in a private letter, which, in accordance with conventional courtesy, are somewhat complimentary to him, he manipulates it somewhat and publishes it far and wide as an advertisement! Those who have gotten up this book are sadly misrepresented if they have not pursued a similar course. We are informed, on the most reliable authority, that a copy of the "Student's Mythology" is sent to a gentleman, accompanied with a highly complimentary note, requesting his

Henceforth, let none say that "woman's rights" are modern improvements; or that women are not capable of competing with men in—no matter what. Now that the doctrine of the complete equality of the sexes is promulgated from a convent of the Sacred Heart, it must be regarded as a sound one, and none need sneer any longer at Mrs. Woodhull and her worthy female associates, even when they array themselves in the distinctive male garment. No doubt those ladies will greatly admire the passages in the catechism which refer to some of the "adventures" of the goddesses with their divine "affinities." But we must beg to be excused from giving any more examples of the sort of pabulum which it seems is the favorite dish at the Sacred Heart.

If we are wrong in all this, our remarks should have no effect; and such would be our sincere wish. But we shall be found to be sustained in our views by the greatest educators of boys and young men, not to mention girls, or young ladies —by educators like Sturm, Wolf, Fenelon, Erasmus—also by the most eminent historians, philosophers, and critics; and by none more fully than by the most learned Fathers of the Church. As every intelligent student of history is aware of this, we shall confine ourselves to one or two authorities, especially as our article has already attained much larger dimensions than we had prescribed for it. We turn to Schlegel first, partly because he stands in the first rank as an investigator of classical antiquity, and partly because his having become a convert to the Catholic faith may give his views more

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opinion of it. He replies, as a gentleman naturally would, never for a moment suspecting that any use would be made of his letter, and the next information he receives of the precious catechism is in the form of a flaming printed circular in which, to his deep mortification, he finds an extract from his private letter! Thousands of copies of this circular are sent to all parts of the country, so that the gentleman is rewarded for his politeness by being everywhere quoted as recommending the new catechism to the faithful as just the thing so long needed to "finish" young ladies! Whether other "recommendations" in the same circular were similarly obtained we neither know nor care. We only ask, was it at all surprising that parties who acted so much alike should sympathize with each other, and make almost simultaneous attacks on this journal and its editor?

weight in the estimation of our Catholic readers than they might otherwise possess. After fully examining the subject in all its bearings Frederick Schlegel says: "But of Greek mythology generally, without including this prince of the poets,* it must be confessed that in times with which we are historically familiar, it is *deserving of censure, not only offensive* to *individual morality* but *essentially material in all its views* and *thoroughly objectionable and impious.*"† Will this be satisfactory to those for the instruction of whose daughters the book under consideration is avowedly designed? If not, will the views of St. Augustine, who was a scholar as well as a theologian, be satisfactory to them? Will they please turn to his *De Civitate Dei* (City of God) and read a part of book vi., chapter 9. Such are the plain terms in which St. Augustine had to discuss the question, that we cannot give an English version here of the language of just scorn and contempt in which he speaks of those goddesses and gods. The best we can do, is to extract a few sentences in the Latin original, at the bottom of the page. Those who understand them will admit that St. Augustine might well doubt whether those who accepted such a system, had any proper conception of human modesty or human shame.‡ Some may regard both St. Augustine and Frederick Schlegel as unduly puritanical; we would refer such to the philosopher Bayle, who is not the less disgusted with the subject of the Sacred Heart catechism, for being an "infidel."§ Nor does he evince this feeling

* Homer.

† Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern. Lecture ii, p. 40. Bohn's edition.

‡ Quid impletur cubiculum *turba numinum:* quando et paranymphi inde discedunt! Et ad hoc impletur, non ut eorum præsentia cogitata major sit cura pudicitiæ, sed ut fœminæ sexu infirmæ novitate pavidæ, illis coöperantibus sine ulla difficultate virginitas auferatur. Adest enim dea Virginensis, et deus pater Subigus, et dea mater Prema, et dea Pertunda, et *Venus*, et *Priapus. Quid est hoc?* Si omnino laborantem in illo opere virum ab diis adjuvari oportebat: non sufficiebat aliquis unus, aut aliqua una. Nunquid *Venus sola parum esset*, quæ ob hoc etiam dicitur nuncupata, quod sine ejus vi fœmina virgo esse non desinat? Si *ulla est frons in hominibus, quæ non est in numinibus?—De Civit. Dei*, lib. vi, c. 9.

§ See Bayle's *Dict. Philosoph.*, articles *Juno* and *Jupiter.*

through any affectation of superior morality; nowhere does he pretend to be exempt from the natural weaknesses of humanity; but it should be remembered that the vices of some of those gods and goddesses, whose conduct is condemned and ridiculed by Bayle, and who figure so prominently in the "The Student's Mythology," are brutally and revoltingly *un*natural.

We have now but one remark to add. We have honestly and faithfully indicated the influences brought to bear on two communities of ladies, and parts of the fruits of those influences. We readily acquit the fathers, even of New York and Fordham, of all intention to injure the sisters by their advice; nay, we are quite willing to believe that they intended to serve them. It was only the judgment, understanding, and common sense of the fathers that were at fault when they intimated that the Ring was a very good thing, on account of its patronage, and the National Quarterly a very bad thing on account of its criticisms. However well and kindly disposed the sisters were—however earnest in their wish to do only what was just and right—they were bound to accept the advice of their confessors, if not exactly as the voice of God, at least as the voice of piety and wisdom. This is our sincere view of the case, for we entirely agree with the great traveller, Mungo Park, when he says: "Never have I addressed a woman in the language of kindness and civility, in any part of the world, without receiving in return a kind and civil reply; upon the other hand, never have I experienced the least harshness from a woman, even in the wilds of Africa, without being convinced that she acted under the advice of one or more of my own sex."

But if we have faith in the theory that women in general are disposed to good and not to evil, and that they rarely if ever practice the latter, except when influenced by the advice of the other sex, still more faith have we in the theory that no ladies are more benevolent or less disposed to be unkind, or uncharitable, than nuns. The worst enemies of Christianity have paid the highest tributes to their self-sacrificing generosity. Even Voltaire admits that there are always amongst them "admirable souls who do honor to human nature."

Again the same arch-scoffer says: "There is nothing grander on earth than the sacrifice which a delicate sex makes of beauty, youth, often of high birth, to alleviate and, as far as possible, obviate human misery." Michelet is no better friend to the Church than Voltaire, but what eloquent and noble tributes he pays to those good ladies in his history of France! * Instance what the historian says of Gertrude and Bertilla as educators. But we accept the estimate of a man of very different views in regard to Christianity —those of one whose truthfulness and sincerity none will gainsay. We think we cannot more appropriately conclude this article than by extracting a brief passage from an address delivered to the graduates of Manhattan College in 1868, by the Hon. Charles O'Conor, only premising that, while we yield to none in our admiration of the true Sister of Charity—the sister, whose mind is not poisoned by bigoted, spiteful advice —we hold that to none do the remarks of the orator apply with more peculiar force than to those teaching sisters, the useful, beautiful and honorable fruits of whose labors, we have glanced at in the preceding pages:

"The genius of history pursues their steps with energetic justice, and will neither be repelled nor silenced. She places on the worthiest brows in every age her chaplet of immortality. The humility and self-denial of men afford them no retreat from distinction if their deeds deserve it. In their case the renown due to virtue cannot be eluded. But the chaste, the amiable, the truly humble and self-denying Sister of Charity, who shall do her justice? Who shall give her merits due applause, or visit them with an earthly reward? She is a woman, and has no name in this world; her ancestry is concealed; her kindred may not be known; *she writes no books;* she *ascends no rostrum!*"

* Liv. 11, c. ii p. 103, *et seq.*

ART. VI.—1. *The History of the Jews in Spain, from the time of their settlement in that country till the commencement of the present century.* By DON ADOLFO DE CASTRO. Cadiz. 1847. Translated by the REV. EDWARD D. G. M. KERWAN, M.A. Cambridge. 1851.

2. *Histoire Générale d'Espagne, traduite de l'Espagnol de Jean de Ferreras, enriche de notes historiques et critiques, de vignettes en taille-deuce, et de cartes géographiques.* Par M. D'HERMILLY. Leyden. 1779.

3. *Historia Critica de España y de la Cultura Española* Par DON JUAN FRANCISCO DE MASDEN. Tome xviii. Madrid. 1783.

4. JOANNIS MARIANÆ HISPANI é societate Jesu *Historæ de Rebus Hispaniæ, Libri XXX.* Maguntiæ (Mentz), 1605

IN the last century it was a favorite occupation of historians and ethnologists to trace back the origin of the nation about which they interested themselves, to one of the sons or grandsons of Noah, mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis. The historians of Spain are not behind those of other nations in claiming antiquity for their country, and in following the practice alluded to. Accordingly, we find it asserted by them that Tubal, the son of Japhet, was the first man who peopled Spain, after the deluge. Ferreras adopts this assertion implicitly, and, moreover, undertakes to explain how Tubal found his way thither. After alluding to the dispersion of Noah's descendants at the Tower of Babel, whence they were forced each into his allotted spot of earth, he says: "No one knows in what manner each found his way into the province which had been marked out for him. For, indeed, how was it possible to travel by land in those days? Roads had not been laid out—there were neither habitations, nor bridges, nor boats, nor any of the other things necessary for travellers. How, then, travel by sea? There were neither ships nor compass, and navigation was entirely unknown. Yet Scripture says

that 'from Shinar did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.' *Et inde dispersit eos Dominus super faciem cunctarum regionum.* How are we to understand this passage? As for myself, I imagine that each family was transported into his country, with all that was necessary for life, by the ministration of angels,* just as the Prophet Habakkuk was transported to Babylon, and St. Philip, the Deacon, to Ayotus, in Palestine."

These learned historians, however, do not agree among themselves as to which of the descendants of Noah was the first to take up his abode in Spain. But the opinion most general among the Spaniards, and that which Ferreras adopts is, that it was Tubal, grandson of Noah and son of Japhet, and he cites in support of it the authority of Josephus, St. Jerome, St. Isidore, and several others, of whom the learned Jesuit, Mariana, summarily disposes in the seventh chapter of his first book. He ridicules the idea of Tubal finding his way to Spain, and, *à fortiori*, he rejects the assertion that the city of Setubal, in Lutitania, and the towns of Tafala and Tudela were founded by him or his descendants,† or that Noëla, in Caletia, or Noëga, in the Asturias, were named by them after Noah.

Ferreras candidly admits that it would be "imprudent" to point out the spot where Tubal made his first residence, the allusion to the names of certain places not being, any more than the fertility of the land in their environs, reasons sufficiently strong that one need not fear being deceived. Nor is it easier to mark either the time when he lived, or the number of his children, nor his place of burial, because one cannot find authentic monuments to enlighten us on these points. This is a pity, as it would be deeply interesting to know the private,

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* Pour moi, je m'imagine que chaque famille fut transportée en son Pais avec tout ce qui est nécessaire à la vie par le ministere des Anges," etc. *Histoire Generale d'Espagne.* 1 Partie, p. 3.

† "Itaque quod ex novi Berosi officina prodiit, Nœmum in Hispaniane, ex longo nimirum errore tandem appulsum, Noelam in Calœcia, in Asturibus Nœgam primum fundasse, *specioso mendacio*, quoniam de his appidis Plinius, Strabo, Ptolemœus, meminerunt, repudiamus."

as well as public, history of one of the sons of Japhet. We are told, however, that one of Tubal's sons was named Iber, or Heber, and that the province of Iberia and the river Ebro were named after him!

There can be no question that the ancient inhabitants of Spain were called "Iberians." The Celts, when they invaded the Peninsula, some sixteen centuries before the Christian era, found them there, and expelled them, but preserved the memory of them in the name which they gave to the north of Spain, "Celtiberia." Mariana accounts for the presence of the Iberians in Spain by saying that a great number of people bearing that name, inhabitants of a region in Asia, north of Armenia and south of the Elburz mountains, called Iberia, were carried off by the way of the Euxine, and taken to Spain, where they built a city which they named Iberia, and which gave its name to the whole province.* But he does not tell us how, when, or why these Circassians were imported—perhaps they may have shared the fate of those who dwelt by the sea in those early times, and were kidnapped by pirates and sold for slaves. His theory is a far more plausible one than that of Ferreras, who says that in the sixteenth century B. C. a very severe famine drove thousands of Spaniards or Iberians out of their country, and that they passed through many countries of Europe and settled between the Black Sea and the Caspian, calling the land they settled in "Iberia."

But whether Spain was peopled originally by Iberians from Circassia, or the Circassian Iberia was peopled by Iberians from Spain, is comparatively unimportant as regards the intercourse between the Hebrews of Palestine and the Spaniards in the early ages. We quit the region of fable and enter upon that of history when we come to the settlements of the Phœnicians on the coasts of the Peninsula. One of their first colonies was Cadiz, but the date of its foundation is uncertain. Some place it in the time of Joshua, when the Phœnicians, or Canaanites, were driven out of Canaan—they escaped to Northern Africa, and thence, it is said, to Spain, leaving behind them an inscription,

* Lib. 1, cap. 7.

legible for many ages, on the two pillars near the fount of the Magi at Tangier, to this effect: "We flee from the face of Joshua, the robber." Such, at least, is the statement of Procopius, the comrade of Belisarius, in the war against the Vandals in Northern Africa.* Others place the foundation of Cadiz after the siege of Troy. Among these are Strabo, Mela, and Paterculus. Others, again, among whom is Ferreras, place it in the time of Solomon, when the kings of Tyre were great naval potentates. Cadiz soon became a flourishing city and a wealthy colony, and the Phœnicians extended their empire in Spain by founding the cities of Malaga, Abdera (or Medina Sidonia), and others. The name of Sidonia (or *Assidonia*, as it appears in the *Cherographic Alphabetique* of Ferreras) was probably derived from their renowned city of Sidon.

The Phœnicians brought with them their arts and sciences, language, alphabet, and writing; also their coins and their mercantile laws and usages:† so that the natives of the south of Spain became civilized, and were in advance of those who dwelt north of the Ebro. They became acquainted, through the Phœnicians, with the nations dwelling on the shores of the Mediterranean; and hence the Carthaginians were no strangers to them, long before those enterprising kinsmen of the Phœnicians made themselves masters of the Peninsula. There is every reason to believe that there was constant intercourse between Spain and Tyre, Sidon, and other Syrian ports during the nine or ten centuries which elapsed between the Celtic conquest and the Carthaginian. The Spanish historians assert that Sichœus, of Tyre, the husband of the famous queen, Dido, gained all his wealth by trading with the inhabitants of the eastern coast of Spain: and that her brother, Pygmalion, after having murdered Sichœus, set out from Tyre with a fleet, and landed in Andalusia, at the spot where he built the city of Anis (now Almuneçar).‡

Still, the dominions of the Phœnicians in Spain extended only over the sea-coast cities and their neighborhood, until the

* *Vandal*, b. ii., ch. x. † Strabo, lib. 3 and 14.
‡ Mariana, lib. 1, cap. xv.

seventh century before Christ, when they extended their aggressions into the interior. These at length roused the hostility of the Spaniards, and they took up arms. Towards the close of the century, that is to say, about the year B. C. 620, flourished the great warrior, Argantonius, king of the Tartessi, who dwelt west of Gibraltar; he was one of the greatest of the ancient heroes of Spain, and far famed for his skill in war. The Spaniards elected him their generalissimo against the Phœnicians, who were now openly aiming at the sovereignty of Spain. The Phœnicians, using policy as well as strength, sowed dissension among the natives, and by that means possessed themselves of several places: but the Spaniards, under Argantonius, not only checked them but drove them out of the province of Bœtica or Andalusia, and even out of the island of Cadiz.*

It was at this time that Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to Tyre, and numbers of the Phœnicians were called away from Spain to assist in the defense of the city, and so they were forced to abandon all their possessions in Spain; but the relief thus afforded to the Tyrians enabled them to hold out for four years, when, at length, Nebuchadnezzar, having been called away into Egypt, raised the siege. Here follows a disputed episode in history. The Spanish historians assert that, after Nebuchadnezzar had subdued Egypt, he prosecuted his conquests along the northern shores of Africa until he reached Calpe, when he crossed over into Spain, and reduced that country to subjection. This extraordinary statement rests apparently on a passage in Josephus,† which runs thus: "Megasthenes, also, in his fourth book of his accounts of India, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavors to show that this king (Nebuchadnezzar) exceeded Hercules in fortitude, and in the greatness of his actions; for he saith that 'he conquered a great part of Libya and *Iberia*.'" No other ancient author mentions this conquest of Spain; and Josephus does not state it of his own knowledge, but merely quotes it

* Ibid., lib. 1, cap. xvii.

† *Antiq. of Jews*, lib. x., ch. 11: repeated *verbatim* in his *Contra Apion*, book i, § 20.

from Megasthenes, a Greek writer in the service of king Salencus Nicator, who reigned B. C. 312–280. The story, from whatever source derived, was, therefore, written 300 years after the event is alleged to have occurred, and Josephus revived it 300 years after it was written. So much for its authenticity; but, in fact, it is more than doubtful that it applies to Spain at all; the Iberia spoken of was most likely the Circassian Iberia, which was on the northern frontier of Nebuchadnezzar's realm, and would naturally come within the range of his arms, just as that portion of Libya would, which adjoins Egypt.*

The legend, however, is made the basis of other assertions. Nebuchadnezzar, after taking Jerusalem (B. C. 604), carried away numbers of the Jews into captivity; he compelled the young men to serve in his armies, and many of them were engaged in this conquest of Spain. They remained in that country, and, as the high intelligence of their race soon gave them power over the natives, they became the founders of cities, and at all events had influence enough to fasten Jewish names upon them. The Jews say that many towns in Andalusia and in the kingdom of Toledo have hence derived their names: such as Toledo, from the Hebrew word *toledoth*, (signifying "families"); Escalona from Askelon; Noves from Nobe; Maqueda (prounounced Makeda) from Megiddo; Yapes from Jappa, and so on.†

Again. The Jews of Spain have a tradition that a Spanish king, named Pyrrhus, went to Nebuchadnezzar's assistance against the Jews and Phœnicians, and brought back with him many Jewish captives, some of whom were of royal blood, and settled them at Toledo and Lucena, which cities they founded, and thence they spread over Spain and Portugal; and from one family of these royal captives descended the illustrious rabbi, Isaac Abarbanel or Abrabanel, who flourished in Spain A. D. 1437–1508. ‡ The Spanish historian, Masden, does not mention Pyrrhus and his exploits, a strange omission

* Masden, one of the most voluminous historians of Spain, especially of her ages, makes no allusion to this story of Nebuchadnezzar.

† Mariana, lib. 1, cap. xvii. ‡ Garibay, *Compendio Historial*, lib. v., cap. 4.

for one so zealously advocating the greatness of his own nation in all ages, and so anxious to conceal or make light of its reverses and defects. We may, however, do him the justice to say that he rejects the fables of Annius of Viterbo regarding the early history of Spain, and the list of kings whom that author gives, commencing with Tubal, the son of Japhet, who is represented as being the founder of Tarragona, where he held his court in the 143d year after the deluge! Nevertheless, Masden, like the other Spanish historians, is only too happy to base the Japhetian origin of the nation upon that indefinite passage of Josephus, "Thubal founded the nation of the Thubalians, who are now called Iberians," * which has been the origin of all the mystification. And we may suggest that in less remote times the languages spoken respectively by the Phœnicians and the descendents of Heber were so near of kin, that when Jews came to Spain they might easily be mistaken for Phœnicians, and *vice versa*. Thus it may have happened that many things attributed by the Spaniards to the Jews may have been done by the Phœnicians.

We have not quite done with the legends or fictions connected with Nebuchadnezzar. It is related that after the settlement of the Jews in Spain, under that monarch, they established synagogues in the most considerable cities of the peninsula. The principal one was at Toledo, and it was held in veneration for centuries. Six hundred years after its foundation Jesus began preaching in Palestine, and when the Scribes and Pharisees determined to destroy him they sent a letter to the chief of the synagogue of Toledo asking his advice and consent. The Jews of Toledo met in council to discuss the matter, but were prevailed upon to refuse their assent, by hearing read the letters of one Eleazar, a priest of their own country and a holy man, who had gone on business of his own to Jerusalem, and had there witnessed the miracles and acts of Jesus. The answer, written in Hebrew, seems to have found its way back to Spain, for it is said to have been discovered at

* *Κατοικίζει δε και Θωβηλος Θωβηλους, οιτινες νυν Ιβηρες καλουνται.* lib. 1, cap. 6.

Toledo, when Alfonso the Sixth of Castile recovered that city from the Moors, A. D. 1084. It was afterwards translated into Arabic by order of one of the Moorish kings, and into Castilian, by order of Alfonso. It was preserved in the archieves of Toledo until the year 1494, when it was carried off by the Jews on their expulsion from Spain. * It bore date, "Toledo, fourteenth day of the month Nisan; era of Cæsar, eighteen, and of Augustus Octavianus, seventy-one."

De Castro unhesitatingly asserts that this letter is an entire fiction, because *there were no Jews living in Spain at the time of the death of Jesus*, and because of the improbability and absurdity of the supposition that the Jews of Jerusalem should hold a conference with their brethren who were scattered throughout the world. But he gives no grounds for such assertions. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that there were Jews in all parts of the Roman empire, and outside of it. There was a large number of them in Rome when the Apostle Paul was there;† and we read of their visiting distant nations at all periods of their history. Moreover, they were in the habit of communicating with other Jews at long distances. Witness the mission of Eliezer of Damascus, Abraham's "eldest servant," from Hebron in Canaan to Nahar in Mesopotamia: the visit of Abraham to Egypt; the journey of Tobias from Nineveh to Rages in Media, etc., etc. And the Apostle Paul met with rough treatment from their synagogues at Corinth and Ephesus. Why, then, should there not have been Jews in Spain in the time of Jesus? Such an argument as this for the fictitious character of the letter breaks down entirely. But there is more force in the internal evidence to destroy its genuineness, for it contains an exhortation to the Jews of Jerusalem to inquire seriously whether Jesus was not really the promised Messiah, and gives reasons for believing him to be that personage. The translation of the document is written in a confused medley of ancient and modern Castilian, with a smattering of

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* This letter is published by Sandoval in his *Historia de los Reyes de Castilla y de Leon*, but he says he does not know what amount of credit to attach to it.

† Acts, xxviii, vers. 17-19.

Portuguese and Gallician; whereas in the days of Alfonso the Sixth all documents were written in Latin.

It is highly probable that this letter originated in the desire to make the Jews appear less odious than they were in the eyes of the Spainards, and to bring about a mitigation of the cruel persecutions they suffered during the Middle Ages. It was probably forged in the eleventh century, when it was said to have been found at Toledo. We have a corroboration of this theory in the curious language of Father Juan de Pineda, * who says: "The Jews who lived at Toledo were not at Jerusalem at the time of our Redeemer's Passion, nor did they consent to it. Such being the case, they may boast of the highest lineage in the world; for nobility of blood depends on the personal excellence of parentage, as well as on privileges and honors conferred by princes. And the founders of the House of Israel, to wit, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were very eminent men and more highly honored by God than any who have been born into the world. Therefore, as many persons of Jewish descent as shall prove that their ancestors in no wise consented to the Redeemer's death (on the score of which they forfeited their nobility) and believed in Him, like Nicodemus, Gamaliel, and some others, must, without question, equally with those ancestors, be of the highest lineage in the world." These sentiments were indorsed by Father Quintenas Dueñas,† who adds that the Jews ought to be honored with admission to the religious and military orders, and be preferred to ecclesiastical dignities.

The letter alluded to, from the Spanish Jews to those in Jerusalem, having been successful in procuring more favorable consideration for the former, other forgeries were resorted to, which met with an equally favorable reception. One of these was the assertion that in the year 33 the Jews sent to Jerusalem two messengers to make a verbal protest in the name of the Jews in Spain against the designs of the Scribes and Pharisees. Another was that after the crucifixion the chief of the synagogue of Toledo sent a second embassy to

* *Manarquia Ecclesiastica.* † *Singularia moralis Theologiæ, etc.*

Jerusalem with letters to the mother of Jesus and to the Apostle Peter, desiring them to instruct the bearers of them in the Christian religion; which letters were brought back to Spain by Saints Indalecio and Eufrasio. And Eleazer, who held the office of president of the Spanish synagogue and people in Sion, wrote to the brethren of Toledo to inform them of the death of Jesus, which, they said, was caused by the machinations of Annas and Caiaphas, and that a holy man named James, the son of Zebedee, was coming to preach the law of grace in Spain. This absurd forgery is given at full length by De Castro (p. 15).

We come now to the apostolic missions of St. James and St. Paul in Spain, which had an important and permanent influence upon the position and destinies of the Jews in that country. We are not writing a history of the Church, and therefore shall not do more than refer to the results of the labors of these great apostles. The Spaniards readily embraced Christianity, but in doing so they became informed of the virulence and malignity which the Jews of Jerusalem had manifested towards Jesus, and of the cruel death they had made him suffer; and in time they heard of the indignities and barbarities practised by these same Jews upon the apostles and the disciples, and of the murder of St. Stephen, St. James the Just, and St. James, the son of Zebedee, afterwards venerated by the Spaniards as their patron saint. And as Christianity spread throughout the Roman empire, they learned that the Jews who lived out of Palestine did not yield to those of Jerusalem in point of cruelty to the Christians. It is not recorded that the Jews in Spain showed the same animosity to the Christian converts in that peninsula, but it is probable that they felt the same aversion to them.*

The fervid Spanish nature carries those who possess it to extremes. Their attachment to Christianity became a vital principle with the Spaniards, and with them there could be no medium between love and hatred towards the Jews who had

* This subject is treated in a general way by Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History*, part i, chap. 5.

so persecuted the Christians. The position of the former was at once changed. They were shunned, hated, and despised, and all sorts of crimes and impious practices were attributed to them. If they had enjoyed public consideration as merchants and men of business before the introduction of Christianity into the Peninsula, they now had to carry on their trade in private, avoiding all ostentation and publicity. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (A. D. 70), and the consequent dispersion of the Jews into a variety of countries, a large number of them fled to Spain, and settled there, gaining their living by trade and handicraft, in which they excelled the natives; but for the reason before mentioned they took no part in public affairs, and mixed but little with the people around them. They carried on communication in secret and by cypher between themselves and with their countrymen in other lands; they cultivated learning, and kept alive among themselves the traditions of their fathers, "looking for the great day of the Lord, when he should deliver Israel." In the cities which they were allowed to enter, they lived for many years mingled with the natives and other inhabitants; and after that, by dint of hard labor, they had amassed riches, they made separate barriers that they might the better enjoy the comforts of life, and held congregations in their synagogues with more perfect freedom.* They sedulously observed the Mosaic law in their families, and this, in a manner, isolated them from the natives, as it did in other countries.

The majority of the Jews who went to Spain lost their own language, and were very easily reconciled to the vernacular tongue of the country; and this is the reason why, according to Dr. Bernardo Aldrete,† so few Hebraisms or Hebrew words have been engrafted on the Spanish language. Unquestionably, there would have been more of them had the Spanish Jews continued to speak Hebrew, and transmitted it to their descendants and the inhabitants of the cities where they lived. More than two hundred years elapsed after the dispersion of the Jews before the feeling of dislike to them took an active

* De Castro, p. 20. † *Antigüedades de España*, lib. ii, cap. 8.

shape in Spain; but at last the evil times began which were to last for twelve hundred years and terminate in the expulsion of "the chosen people" from the Peninsula. In the year 303, a council of bishops, held at Illiberis (now Elne), in the south of France, forbade all communication, dealings, or contracts with the Jews, and anathematized all Christians who should eat in company with them, or allow them to bless the fruits which the lands of Christians yielded spontaneously. The alleged reason for these proceedings was that the Jews were striving with most active and urgent importunities to bring over the people to the law of Moses.

The charge was manifestly a futile one, as no amount of proselytism could make the Spaniards "children of Israel," *i. e.*, descendants of Jacob, upon which fact the Jews rely for divine favor. Whether substantiated or not it does not appear to have produced any evil results to the Jews in Spain, and De Castro thinks it a proof that there were very few of them in the Peninsula; but his reasoning is none of the clearest.* The conquest of Spain by the Goths (A. D. 415) seems to have left the Jews unharmed, for we are told by the same author† that they lived in peace, and had regular trade and intercourse with both Goths and Spaniards, and were neither despised nor oppressed. But when Recaredo the First began to reign (A.D. 586), and, abjuring Arianism, embraced the Catholic religion, the persecutions of the Jews began in earnest.

In the year 589 a council was held at Toledo, by which it was decreed that the Jews should not hold public offices, or have Christian mistresses or Christian slaves, and that all children of the latter, born in captivity, should be manumitted, and baptized into the Church. It hence appears that slavery prevailed in Spain, and was practised by the Jews. They offered King Recaredo a large sum of money to abrogate this decree, but he was not to be tempted. They were now numerous and wealthy, and his successor, Sisebuto, resolved to proceed against them rigorously. He ordered all Jews, who would not receive baptism, to be banished from Spain. Many

* Pp. 22, 23. † P. 25.

of them fled to France to avoid giving up their religion; but about thirty thousand preserved their property and liberty by receiving baptism, continuing, however, to be Jews in heart, though Christians in name. It is said that Sisebuto was urged to this step by the Greek Emperor, Heraclius, who was a student of astrology, and believed he had discovered through this science that he was to be dethroned and murdered by circumcised people, and he thought he would prevent this by bringing over to Christianity the Jews in his dominions, by fair means or foul, and not only them but all the Jews dispersed throughout the world, in which enterprise he strove to engage all kings who were in friendship or alliance with him. But Mariana says, with a sneer, that Sisebuto would have done well to apply the prediction to the Moors and Saracens instead of to the Jews.* Mariana rediculed the astrologers and their pretended science.

Sisebuto, whom the Spanish historians describe as "magnanimous, valiant in war, rigidly just in peace, *always compassionate*, and very zealous on behalf of Christianity," followed up this decree by another. In concurrence with the bishops and nobles in the Cortes and Council of Toledo (A. D. 633), he decreed† that all Jews who had received baptism should be compelled to observe the ceremonies of the Christian religion; that they should not be allowed to educate their children, but that the latter should be brought up by good Christians; and that they should not, under pain of perpetual slavery, have any dealings with persons who had not come over to the faith. Sisebuto, moreover, prohibited them from buying Christian slaves, or obliging any whom they possessed to be circumcised or to become Jewish proselytes; he also compelled them to manumit their Christian slaves,‡ which certainly was a step in the right direction on the part of king Sisebuto. Slavery, or serfdom, prevalied all over Europe at that time, but the Church set her face against it, and though,

* Lib. vi, cap. 1.

† Morales, *Cronica General de España*, vol. vi, fols. 167, 168.

‡ Padilla, *Historia Eclesiástica de España*, vol. ii, fols. 261, 262.

owing to the barbarism and ferocity of the age, she was unable to destroy the system, she took every opportunity of mitigating its harshness, and of striking a blow at its vitality. And thus the Jews were prohibited from holding Christian slaves.

These rigorous laws were revived with additions by king Chintila, in A. D. 638, and king Flavio Recesuinto, in A. D. 555. But the Jews had become crafty—if they were not so before—and seeing that they need not expect any favor from king Recesuinto, they addressed letters to him acknowledging that they had hitherto obstinately adhered to Judaism, but had now become real Christians, and would no longer observe any of the ceremonies of their law, and thus give clear proof that they had completely renounced their errors. By this artful plan they contrived to stop the severities practiced against them; nevertheless, they secretly adhered to their law, and communicated it to others, and so they again drew down upon themselves the persecution they dreaded. Thus in A. D. 656 and 681, the old laws were revived and new laws were added.

In 693, king Ejica forbade the Jews to busy themselves at mercantile ports, and they were subjected to intolerable oppression, although they were freemen in the eye of the law. The children of their slaves were taken from them as soon as born. The Jews were prohibited from offering themselves as candidates for public offices; they were forbidden to exercise their own religion, and compelled to profess Christianity; their children, when they attained the age of seven, were taken from them to be educated in the Christian doctrines, by persons in no way connected with them. The act of speaking to a person not reputed to be a true Christian entailed upon them loss of liberty and perpetual bondage. Their wives, children, and estates were exposed to the cupidity and hatred of their persecutors. Miscreants, unawed by fear or shame, robbed them at pleasure, and kept them in continual fear. They could gain no redress at law, for the laws were strained against them, and the magistrates refused them justice. And they were hated and reviled by the populace everywhere. Such was the unhappy condition of the Jews in Spain in the seventh

century, as depicted by a learned and upright Spaniard, a loyal Catholic, and in no way connected with the Jews, who writes dispassionately and impartially, and does not shrink from denouncing the atrocities committed by his ancestors on that oppressed race.*

The yoke at length became so intolerable that the Jews formed a plot to murder king Ejica, and all the nobles and prelates opposed to themselves, and to make themselves masters of Spain. They hoped to accomplish this with the aid of their brethren settled in Africa; but the plot was discovered before the time for action was ripe, and king Ejica and his council decreed that, for their treason, they and their wives and children, should be in perpetual bondage; that their property should be confiscated, and themselves dispersed throughout the kingdom, a barrier of intervening land separating one party of them from another, so that they could no longer combine to harm the king or the Christians.† This decree was carried out without remorse.

We come now to a contested point in history, of a singular character. It is asserted by some of the Spanish historians‡ that king Witiza, who succeeded his father Ejica, A. D. 701, raised the Jews to their former condition, and honored them with privileges of greater immunity than he granted to the churches. But others, among them De Castro, contend that this statement is a pure fiction, which originated in the fertile brain of Lucas, bishop of Tuy, who introduced in his *Chronicon Mundi*, written in A. D. 1235, more than five hundred years after Witiza's time. And they further say that he borrowed it from the false narratives of Arabic writers, and these led astray subsequent Spanish historians. De Castro maintains that during Witiza's reign (A. D. 701–710) the Spanish Jews were kept in the most intolerable captivity and misery. But "it is a long lane that has no turning," and at last the

* De Castro, pp. 32–35.

† Padilla, *Hist. Eccles. de España*, vol. ii, fols. 328, 330.

‡ Rodericus Sanctius, *Historia Hispanica*, pars ii, cap. xxxv. Rodericus Toletanus, *De rebus Hispanicæ*, lib. iii, cap. xiv. Morales, *Cronica*, lib. xii, cap. xlv. Mariana, lib. vi, cap. xix.

hour of vengence came. On Witiza's death, Roderic, "the last of the Goths," usurped the throne, in defiance of the claims of Witiza's children. The latter applied to Muza, the caliph's lieutenant in Africa, for aid, and he ascertained, *through the Jews*, the exact condition of Spain, even to the minutest details. The Jews also offered to do all in their power to assist the Arabs in conquering the country, provided permission were given them to live according to the Mosaic law, and protection from persecution were assured to them. Muza acceded to these terms, undertook the invasion of Spain, defeated and killed Roderic in the terrible battle of Kerez (A.D. 711), and laid the foundation of Moorish dominion in the Peninsula.

The Jews were now avenged. They turned fiercely on the fleeing Goths, and gave them no quarter. They garrisoned Seville, Cordova, Toledo, and other cities for Muza; Granada was entrusted to them alone, and hence it was called "Jews Town."* Spain was speedily overrun by Arabs, and the Goths were driven into the fastnesses of the Asturias, in the northern corner of the Peninsula, where they held out under the heroic Pelayo against the invaders. Their history belongs to that of Spain, with which we are now concerned only in so far as relates to the Jews. The fatal nature of the policy of oppression adopted by the Goths toward the Jews was forcibly illustrated by the brillant success of the contrary policy adopted toward them by the Arabs. The latter allowed them full liberty to live according to the Mosaic law and to develop the inherent genius of their race in finance, barter, and science. The Jews laid the foundation of numerous synagogues in the larger cities, and contributed in no small degree, by their fame as merchants and their skill in medicine, to the brilliancy of the Arab or Moorish kingdoms in Spain.

When the Caliph al Kadar (A.D. 991—1031) persecuted the Jews in Asia, many of them fled to Spain—some of them were men of much learning, and they devoted themselves to literature and the founding of academies, in order to diffuse

* De Castro, p. 49.

among the people their own remarkable knowledge in every branch of art and science. The first and most celebrated of these academies was established at Córdova, in A. D. 948, by the rabbi Moses, and his son, rabbi Hanoch, the most eminent of the sages who came from Pombedita and Mehasia, in Persia. Induced by the fame of the learning of these men, the Spanish Jews commenced sending their sons to be instructed at their academy. The consequence of this was, that in time there was a large number of Hebrews in the Peninsula learned in every branch of science. Their influence was extraordinary, especially with the Arab caliphs and the Moorish princes, as they held communication with their co-religionists all over the world, and knew what was going on everywhere, which was more than any European or Asiatic potentate did. Hence it is easy to account for the political power which they wielded in secret, being too wise to exercise it openly among a people who disliked and feared them. It has been well said that "the Jews were our factors and bankers before we knew how to read, and they were also our first physicians." To this it may be added that they were, for centuries together, the only men in Europe who saw the cause of human affairs from the most general point of view.*

They also excelled all other races in medicine, and there was scarcely a prince in Europe or Asia without his private Jewish physician, during the middle ages. These Hebrew doctors, though much esteemed by the upper classes, were viewed by the vulgar with wonder, fear, and hatred, and no crime too incredible could be imputed to them. Thus Zedekiah, physician to Charles the Bold, of France, was asserted to have devoured at one meal, in the presence of the court, a wagon-load of hay, together with its horses and driver! † A long list of eminent Jewish names may be extracted from the Middle Ages. Among their physicians were Haroun, or Aaron, of Cordova, Amram of Toledo, Ben Zahr of Seville, Ben Ezra of Toledo, and the far-famed rabbi Moses Ben

* Draper, *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, p. 413.

† Ibid.

Maimou, known all over Europe by the Grecised form of his name, Maimonides. This illustrious man was born at Cordova, A. D. 1135, and when young wrote commentaries on the Talmuds, both of Babylon and Jerusalem, and also a work on the Calendar. He studied medicine, and went to Egypt, where he embraced Mohammedanism, and became physician to the celebrated sultan Saladin. He wrote a number of works on medicine, and was recognized by his countrymen as "the doctor, the great sage, the glory of the west, the light of the East, second only to Moses."

In other branches of learning we find the Spanish Jews prëeminent. The rabbi Isaac Bar Baruch, of Cordova, president of the academy there, wrote a work on commerce. Jehudah Ben Levi Barzili, of Barcelona, was an eminent lawyer, and wrote several works on law. Mascha, the physician of Alphonso X, king of Castile, framed for him the astronomical tables known as "the Alphonsine." Solomon Ben Gabriel, of Saragossa, wrote several poems, and some works on moral philosophy. Abraham Ben Mija Hanasi was a great astronomer, and Moses Ben Ezra Ben Isaac was a celebrated poet and musician. Abraham Ben Ezra, philosopher, astronomer, physician, poet, grammarian, and cabalist, the most learned of his persuasion in the interpretation of the sacred books, invented the method of dividing the celestial globe into two equal parts by means of the equator. The fame of these men was not merely local and ephemeral, but world-wide, and has been handed down to the present generation.

Out of respect for the learning of the Spanish Jews, Alfonso VIII., of Castile, surnamed "the Good" (A. D. 1158–1214) granted to them the charter of Cuenca, which conferred on them the rights of citizenship (such as they were in those days) and placed them on a perfect equality with the Christians. St. Ferdinand, one of the successors of Alfonso (A. D. 1295–1312), when he had made himself master of the principal cities of Andalusia, allowed the Rabbins, who held their academy at Cordova, to transfer it to Toledo, because it was in the heart of Spain, and because the knowledge of those learned men, who were the ornaments of those schools, could

be diffused from the latter city all over his realms with greater facility than from the former.* When he wrested Seville from the Moors, the Jews, who had synagogues in that city, went out to receive him, and as a proof of submission and respect, put into his hands a silver key, with spaces in it alternately plain and gilt, with a Hebrew inscription upon it, "God shall open; King shall enter." He left them in possession of their property on condition that they paid him the same tribute they had paid to the Moorish kings.

The period of the dominion of the Moors in Spain was the palmy time of the Jews in that peninsula. With the downfall of the Moorish power the return of persecution set in. The ancient antagonism between Jew and Christian, which had been "scotched, not killed," revived in greater intensity than ever. With the Moors, who were of Semitic origin, as were the Jews, there was a bond between them in their common Unitarianism, notwithstanding the fact that the former venerated Mohammed and Jesus as prophets, while the latter refused to acknowledge either. Their languages, too, were not so dissimilar as they were to the Latin, corrupt as it was, which was spoken in Spain. The prejudices of the Christians of Spain against the Jews had been further aggravated by the remembrance of the active part taken by the latter in inducing the Arabs to invade their country. To them the Spaniards mainly attributed the sufferings which their land had undergone since the days of Muza and Tarih, of Roderic and Pelayo. And, though, while the Arabs left all the Jews who lived in their dominions at full liberty to observe the laws of Moses, the kings of Castile saw the necessity of allowing them to dwell undisturbed in their lands and rights, these monarchs were not the less haters of "the chosen people." They allowed them to live in their dominions unmolested, because they feared their migrating with their wealth into the territories of the infidels; but the feeling of the Spaniards was shown by the ordinance of Cayanza,† passed by the Cortes of Leon and Castile,

* De Castro, p. 59.

† Published in the *Coleccion de Cortes de los reines de Leon y de Castilla.*

by order of Ferdinand the First, A. D. 1050, that no Christian should live in the same house or in company with Jews, under penalty of seven days open penance, if nobles, and a hundred lashes if plebians.

Even Alphonso X, who had so freely availed himself of the talents and learning of the Jews, forbade them, on pain of death, to preach to or to attempt to convert any Christian. He also commanded them to wear a badge of red cloth on their left shoulder, under penalty of a fine of ten gold maravedis, or ten lashes in default of payment. He ordained that the Christians should not receive medicine from the hands of the Hebrews, nor eat with them, nor drink wine made by them, nor get into the same bath with them. Also that all Jews convicted of stealing children and crucifying them on Good Friday, in ridicule of the crucifixion of Jesus, or of making waxen images and crucifying them when they could not procure children, should be put to an ignominious death. He forbade their quitting their barrier on Good Friday, and enjoined them to remain in it and keep close till the Saturday morning, on pain of being disqualified from claiming compensation for damages done or insults offered to them by Christians. Alfonso, however, being well aware that this absurd notion of their crucifying Christian infants, was a vulgar superstition, invented by old women to frighten children into good behavior, decreed that such accusations should be brought before *nobody but himself.* He would not allow the magistrates to hear them, which shows that the feeling of the people against the Jews was so strong that it would not do to trust the latter to their mercy. Nevertheless, he ordained that the children of Christians should not be suckled by Jewesses, nor the children of Jews by Christian women.*

Pedro the First, of Castile, surnamed "the Cruel" (A. D. 1350–69), gave protection to the Jews; in return for which they assisted him with money and arms against his rebellious brothers. And when a party of the adherents of the latter secretly gained an entrance into Toledo, the Jews aided

* De Castro, p. 70.

the king's friends in driving them out of the city. As a reward for this service, Pedro gave them leave to rebuild their synagogue there.* Pedro's brother, murderer and successor, the infamous Henry of Trastamara, prohibited the Jews from using such names as were then borne by Christians, and decreed that evidence given in courts of law by the former against the latter should be null and void. King John the First, in 1388, ordered "certain imprecations, conjurations, blasphemies and curses upon the Christians and Christianity," should be erased from the Talmud, and that all who uttered them should be punished with the utmost rigor; but this same monarch protected the Jews to the best of his ability, and had a warm friendship for one of their number, Joseph Pichon, who was a very honorable man.

The usurious interest received by the Jews on loans and goods sold on credit was the occasion of serious riots at Seville, in which several of them were killed. As the people had been stirred up by one Fernando Martinez, king John prohibited his harrangues, and directed that the accused Jews should be duly and fairly dealt with according to law. The king died soon after (1390), and Martinez then renewed his harangues. He succeeded in raising a tumult in which the people killed or wounded every Jewish man, woman, or child they met with, or could find; pillaged their houses, and broke to pieces all their furniture. It is said that four thousand of these unhappy people perished on this occasion;† yet, the authorities of Seville pardoned the authors of these crimes! The evil example of Seville was followed at Cordova, Toledo, Saragossa, Valencia, Barcellona and Lerida. The king, Henry the Third, directed the authorities in those cities to put a stop to these outrages, but his commands were unheeded. Lopez de Ayala says that "all this was love of pillage and plunder rather than devotion."‡

After these ferocious tumults a number of Jews embraced Christianity. A very learned rabbi, named Joshua Halorgi,

* Mariano, lib. xvi, cap. 21, Lopez de Ayalo, *Cronica del rey Don Pedro*, año 1355, cap. 7.

† Zuñga, *Anales de Seville*, p. 252. ‡ *Cronica* año 1391, cap. xx.

born at Huesca, in 1350, set the example, taking the name of Jeronimo de Santa Fé. He was much patronized by Pope Benedict XIII, at Avignon, who convened a meeting of the principal rabbis at Tortoso, at which the new convert held a disputation with them respecting Judaism. This famous disputation lasted from the 7th February, 1413, till the 12th November, 1414, when all the rabbis, except two, acknowleged themselves converted to Christianity. This was all very well for themselves, but it drew down unpleasant consequences on their co-religionists who adhered to the law, for the Pope issued a series of decrees prohibiting the reading or teaching of the Talmud, publicly or privately, ordering all copies of it to be deposited in the cathedral of each diocese, forbidding the reading of any book insulting to the Christians, or having in the house of a Jew any sacred vessel or symbol of the church; no Jew was to hold the office of judge; only one synagogue in any town was to be allowed; no Jew was to be a physician, surgeon, or shopkeeper, or hold any public employment which should make him acquainted with the affairs of Christians, nor buy or sell meat of or to them, or learn any science or craft in Christian schools. In every city or village the Jews were to dwell in a quarter set apart for them, and they were to wear on their dress a device in red and yellow. No Jew was to have dealings or make contracts with Christians; Jewish converts were to be heirs to the unconverted to the exclusion of the rightful heirs who remained faithful. And in every city, town, or village where there should be a sufficient number of Jews, three sermons were to be preached to them every year, attendance being compulsory.*

The antipathy of the people to the Jews broke out afresh in 1473, at Jaen, where they fell upon them and burnt and pillaged their houses. These scenes were repeated at Andújar, Cordova, and other places, and the Jews could not obtain any redress. They, therefore, took to concealing their wealth, thereby causing the circulation of gold and silver to become very limited, and stopping traffic. Commerce was ruined, the

* De Castro, pp. 101–104.

people suffered, the crown was without resources, and revolts against the king (Henry the Fourth) broke out in many parts of the kingdom. The ruin of agriculture followed, and Spain was reduced to the greatest weakness and distress. On the death of Henry the Fourth, of Castile, surnamed "the Weak," on the 11th December, 1474, his sister Isabella and her husband, Ferdinand of Aragon, became the rulers of Spain, and a new era opens in Spanish history, but that of the Jews in Spain draws to a close.

All attempts to convert the Jews having failed, the avaricious Ferdinand found, in their obstinate adherence to their ancient faith, the pretext he had long coveted for getting possion of their wealth.* It would seem that the mandates of former sovereigns had become a dead letter, for we find queen Isabella, in 1480, issuing a decree that all observers of the Mosaic law should live apart from Christians and wear the badges appointed by the ancient laws and ordinances; also, that they should retire to their quarters at nightfall, and suspend their commercial dealings till daylight. This was preliminary to the application of the screw in all its force. Isabella was influenced by religious motives in attempting to extirpate heresy and Judaism; but Ferdinand cared for nothing but replenishing his coffers, which were exhausted by his wars with the Moors; and he willingly lent himself to the plans of Isabella and her advisers. The Jews attempted armed resistance to the officers of the Inquisition, but all their schemes were detected and punished. The ringleaders were put to death, the others were heavily fined, and in this way large sums of money were drawn from them, "which," says De Castro, "the king received with much pleasure and satisfaction, as they sufficed to keep his armies in pay for a considerable time."†

Those Jews who refused to yield suffered all sorts of humiliation, and thousands were imprisoned. Hernando del Pul-

* The motives which respectively actuated Ferdinad and Isabella are carefully considered and set forth in De Castro *Historia*, book iii, and Zorita *Anales de Aragon*, p. 147.

† P. 147.

gar asserts that two thousand of them were burned.* The cupidity of their persecutors and king Ferdinand, not satisfied with the amount, considerable as it was, of the confiscated properties of the Jews, invented a new plan to increase it. They determined to institute legal proceedings against some converted Jews who had been very rich, and who, fortunately for themselves, *were no longer living.* As a matter of course they were found guilty, what had been their property was confiscated, and by this means the funds of the royal treasury were augmented.† Hernando del Pulgar says, "a large number of these deceased Judaizers were found, whose goods and hereditaments were taken and applied to the king's and queen's exchequer."‡ The avarice of Ferdinand would not allow him to respect even the dead. He ordered their bodies to be disinterred and burned, and, at the same time, he despoiled the children and heirs of the deceased of the estates which they had honestly and legally inherited, and thus reduced them to extreme poverty.

Ferdinand applied the proceeds of his confiscations to the conquest of other lands; but in so doing he impoverished his own. His perfidy brought its own punishment with it, and the nation was made to suffer for his misdeeds. The siege of Granada cost an enormous sum of money. In order to raise it the unconverted Jews who were reputed to be wealthy were applied to for heavy loans, to be repaid on the surrender of the city.§ As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella gained possession of Granada, which they did on the 2d of January, 1492, they found themselves under the obligation of paying their debts to their Jewish creditors, as they had pledged their royal word to do; but, owing to the exhausted state of their treasury, they were unable to fulfil their word. In this dilemma Ferdinand, on the 31st of March, 1492, issued a decree that all the Jews who dwelt in the vicinity of the Aljamas of his kingdom should turn Christians, within four months, or be banished from it.‖

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* *Cronica de los Reyes Católicos*, part ii., chap. 77. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
§ Mariana, lib. xxv., cap. 18.
‖ Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Católico*, lib. i., cap. 6.

As the Jews had no choice left but either to turn Christians, quit Spain, or die, they began to sell off all their goods; and as the time allowed them by Ferdinand was so short, they were obliged to part with their properties for very inadequate prices, and sell them for what the Christians chose to give for them; and, according to Bernaldez, "they would barter a house for a donkey, and a vineyard for a small piece of cloth or linen."* In July, 1492, the exodus began; 3,000 Jews quitted Spain by Benavente for Braganza, in Portugal; by Zamora, for Miranda, in Portugal, 30,000; by Ciudad Rodrigo, for El Villar, in Portugal, 35,000; by Aléantara, for Marbau, in Portugal, 15,000; by Badajoz, for Yelves, in Portugal, 10,000. So that by Castile alone, 93,000 Jews left Spain for Portugal; 2,000 went to Navarre; 300 families went to places across the seas; and 8,000 sailed for Cadiz. Spanish historians differ as to the total number of Jews who quitted Spain. Bernaldez puts it at 160,000 *persons;* Abarea says 160,000 *families;* Zurita says 400,000 persons; Mariana says 800,000 !†

Thus Spain expelled from her bosom hundreds of thousands of her most intelligent citizens, and impoverished herself by so doing. It is said of sultan Bajazet, to whose dominions many of them fled, that when any one puffed off to him the wisdom of the king and queen of Spain, he was in the habit of exclaiming, "I do not understand the wisdom of the Spanish sovereigns; since, when they had such excellent slaves as these Jews, they banished them from their territories."‡ It was the same policy which killed the goose for the sake of the golden egg. The Jews who fled suffered incredible hardships; but here we terminate our notice of their history. Henceforth those who remained in Spain kept themselves in seclusion and obscurity; but they privately corresponded with their brethren abroad, and amassed wealth, with which they secretly in-

* De Castor, p. 165.

† Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando*, lib. i., cap. 6. Mariana, lib. xxvi., cap. 1.

‡ Illescas, *Historia Pontifical*, seg'a parte, lib. vi, cap. 20.

fluenced foreign potentates *against* their oppressors. Hebrew gold helped to thwart Philip II. in his designs on the Netherlands and England.

The Spanish nobility pride themselves on the purity of their descent, the *sangre azul*, or blue blood, derived from the veins of their Gothic and Roman ancestors. Byron makes Don Juan's father boast of being of this stock:

> "A true hidalgo, free from every stain
> Of Moor or Hebrew blood, he traced his source
> Through the most Gothic gentlemen of Spain."

Yet there is good reason to believe that this "blue blood" has been mixed more than once with that of the descendants of Isaac and Ishmael. The only wonder is that any Christian should esteem it a disgrace to trace his ancestry back to the stem from which the Saviour came, as to the flesh, and through which all the nations of the earth were to be blessed! But the Spaniards are a very odd people, and Spain is a very odd country. The pride of the upper classes is equalled by the ignorance of the lower. Mr. Clark, in his "Gazpacho; or, Summer Months in Spain," gives the following instance of it: "Speaking of the Jews, a skeptic present interposed with a doubt as to whether they really had tails or not. The majority held that it was unquestionable; but as one or two still questioned it, the dispute was referred to Señor Vazquez, a travelled man. He quietly decided the matter in the affirmative; 'for,' said he, 'when I was in London, I saw Baron Rothschild, who is a Jew of a very high caste, and he had a tail as long as my arm.' So the sceptics were silenced, and smoked the cigar of acquiescence."*

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* De Castro, p. 67, n.

ART. VII.—1. *Address to the Graduates of Manhattan College.* By Hon. JOHN P. O'NEILL.

With Remarks of HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP. June 28, 1872.

. *Sketch of the History and Progress of the College of the Christian Brothers.* St. Louis, August, 1872.

. *Address to the Graduating Class of Rock Hill College.* By A. LEO KNOTT, Esq. June 27, 1872.

. *Address to the Graduates of La Salle College, at the Annual Commencement,* June 20, 1872. By JOHN J. CURRAN, B. C. L.

. *Address to the Graduates of St. Mary's College, San Francisco, Cal., at the Ninth Annual Commencement,* June 7, 1872.

WHAT our views of the colleges of the Christian Brothers re is sufficiently known to our readers. The object of the resent article, therefore, is not to give our own impressions f those institutions, but partly to give a synopsis of the im-ressions of others, and partly to afford those interested in the ubject an opportunity of judging the tree by its fruit. We ake these pains, most cheerfully, for several reasons, any of hich would be satisfactory to every sincere, impartial friend of he great cause of education, let his religious or political creed e what it may. Those whose memory is at fault, will find some f those reasons stated incidently in another article in this num-er, under the head of "New Catechism for Young Ladies." ut we think one reason is enough; it is this: we have never nown any educators, lay or clerical, Protestant or Catholic, in urope or America, who, in our opinion, have more fully illus-rated by their zeal, fidelity, and unwearied assiduity as instruct-rs, the exclamation of Cicero, "What nobler employment, or ore advantageous to the state, than that of those who train, de-elop, and store with knowledge the minds of the rising gene-

ration!"* In our number for last March† we reviewed a work by M. D'Arsac,‡ in which most interesting and affecting illustrations are given of the true Christian heroism of this teaching order. How well attested their heroic and humane conduct is, may be seen from the following extract from an editorial which we find in the New York World, of September 1, instant, as we commence this article:

"We are not altogether certain that the City of Boston will be wholly pleased with the award made by the French Academy of 2,000 francs, given by the Bostonians as a prize for 'patriotic self-devotion.' Perhaps it will be news to many of our readers that Boston ever requested the French Academy to award this prize in her name. It appears that towards the end of the late Franco-German war, while Paris was besieged, the Bostonians—be it said to their credit—collected the sum of 800,000 francs for the relief of French distress, and despatched a cargo of provisions of that value. Before the cargo arrived in France the siege had ended and the struggle with the Commune had begun. The supplies were sold in England, and the amount realized was for the most part distributed in France. The surplus sum of 2,000 francs remained over—one does not very clearly see how or why—and this sum the Boston committee handed over to the French Academy with a request that it would award the money as a prize to the French citizen who had displayed during the war the most conspicuous 'patriotic self-devotion.' Boston was once a Puritan city; it is still no doubt to a considerable extent a Protestant city; and it is perhaps with something of a shock that the descendants of him who cut out the 'Popish cross' from England's flag will learn that this prize has been awarded to the members of a Roman Catholic order—the 'Christian Brothers.' This is a teaching order, and although it took its rise in France, our own city and many other parts of the United States are familiar with the operations of its members. The award of the Academy was explained in an address delivered by the Duke of Noailles, father of the present French Minister at Washington, and it remains to be seen whether the Bostonians will approve of the reasons assigned by their exalted representative for this disposi-

* Quid enim munus reipublicæ affere majus, meliusve possumus, quam si docemus atque erudimus juventutem.—*Divin*, ii, 2.

† No. xlviii.

‡ *Les Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes pendant la guèrre de* 1870–71.

tion of their bounty. The duke, in his address, begins by saying that the acts of courage, devotion, and patriotic self-sacrifice displayed by the Parisians, during the seige, were so numerous that to select one more worthy than all others appeared almost impossible. It was partly for this reason that the resolution was taken to give to the award a collective rather than a personal character. The Academy selected not an individual but a body, and it describes that body as 'one which every one knows and every one esteems.' When it appeared that France and Paris were in danger, the feelings which animated all Frenchmen 'especially animated the Christian Brothers.'"

We would most cheerfully make room for the whole article, but the facts contained in the remainder of it are so familiar to our readers, from the extracts we gave last March from M. D'Arsac's book, that it would be needless repetition to relate them here. We prefer to turn to the estimates given by competent judges of particular American colleges. In this spirit we quote from another of our morning papers an extract which speaks for itself:

"On Sunday evening last, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Woods, Bishop of Philadelphia, and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Shanahan, Bishop of Harrisburgh, accompanied by Brother Patrick, Provincial of the Christian Brothers in the United States, visited Manhattan College. The right reverend prelates were received with every mark of respect and honor by the superiors and students. The Jasper Literary Club gave them a splendid entertainment in the large college hall, which was speedily fitted up for their reception. The entertainment consisted of stirring music by the college band and eloquent addresses by the members of the Jasper Club. When the bishops and superiors entered the hall Mr. George McFadden, of the graduating class, delivered, in the name of the students, a short and appropriate address, in which he welcomed the distinguished visitors and expressed a hope that their visit would soon be repeated. Mr. McFadden was followed by Mr. Boyer, Mr. Burke, Mr. Norris and Mr. Geer, all of whom delivered very eloquent speeches which were frequently applauded. At the close of the entertainment, Bishop Woods thanked the members of the Jasper Club for the great pleasure they afforded himself and his brother prelates. He spoke in flattering language of the intelligence and knowledge which they displayed in their addresses.

"Bishop Woods *loves youth, and the numerous literary institutions which have risen under his judicious and munificient patronage in Philadelphia attest his devotion to the cause of Christian education.* The presence of distinguished prelates in flourishing seats of learning is productive of much good. It encourages students in their studies, stimulates their enthusiasm, strengthens their love of religion, and represents the bishop in the light of a kind father, who sympathizes with them and their aspirations. In Manhattan College the dignitaries of the church are always received with the most marked honor and reverence.

"Both bishops remained in the college till yesterday morning, when they visited the different classes and were introduced to each of the professors. They expressed themselves highly pleased with the manly but modest and respectful bearing of the students."

With the character of Bishop Shanahan, as a friend of education, we are not familiar; but we can bear emphatic testimony, from ocular observation, to the good done by Bishop Woods. Accordingly, we underline the beginning of the second paragraph of the passage just transcribed as being in entire accordance with our own views. We have no disposition to make invidious comparisons in these desultory remarks, but there can be no harm in wishing that the church dignitaries of all denominations had the cause of education so much at heart; were so far superior to bigotry; so conciliatory in their intercourse with those who differ with them in opinion—in a word, so Christian like, so like the Apostle of the Gentiles, as the good and amiable Bishop of the Quaker City. The two prelates of Pennsylvania evinced their appreciation of Manhattan College by preferring its hospitalities for a night or two to those of the more pretentious and *showy* institutions of the Jesuits. As one liberal-minded, good man—one whose good-will is circumscribed by no distinctions of sect or party—reminds us of another of similar character, so we are reminded by Dr. Woods of the Hon. Charles O'Conor. Of the many speeches of the great jurist which have afforded us instruction and pleasure, none has seemed to us more suggestive, more chaste, more beautiful, or more elegant than an address of his to the graduates of Manhattan College, which it

was our good fortune to hear from the distinguished orator's lips. Happening to have a copy of this address at hand, we gladly extract a passage or two. After showing how much civilization owes to different classes of educators, Mr. O'Conor proceeds:

"Here, in your own institution, the Christian Brothers devote their lives to the same benign service. Nor should we overlook the Protectory. That, too, is a neighbor. There hundreds, like brands snatched from the burning, have been gathered in from the abodes of penury, and are prepared for useful occupations. Shade of the venerated Ives! this is your enduring contribution to your country's welfare. Christian Brothers! you are his heirs; none can doubt your fidelity to the duties devolving upon you with the inheritance. Children of misfortune, there is your asylum—your refuge from want and woe—your path to competence here and beatitude hereafter."

Further on, Mr. O'Conor, than whom no public speaker is more chary of praise, pays the following just tribute to the collegiate system of the Christian Brothers:

"How admirable the system! Two, three, or four years of adolescence, when impressions sink deepest, are employed in the punctual observance of methods the best calculated to promote the physical and mental health, and in habits of the purest morality, with a constant example of earnest piety set before the eye and courting imitation. This formative discipline is accompanied by instruction in useful learning, with as much of elegant accomplishments as individual capacity and condition may justify. Hardly by any instructors less exclusively devoted to the ends in view could such a system be conceived, much less carried into full execution."

It is needless for us to bear testimony to the truth and justice of Mr. O'Conor's words, although our testimony is the result of ocular observation extending over a period of several years. That the address of the Hon. John P. O'Neill, delivered to the last graduating class was creditable both to the orator and to the graduates may be inferred from the following extract:

"Gentlemen, we must all feel deeply indebted to you for the elegant entertainment you have given us upon this the festival of letters

in Manhattan. The warmth, vigor, and boldness of thought, which have marked your essays, would well become and honor minds of riper years and deeper experience. They show a graceful familiarity with the past, and how attentively, in wandering through its ruins, you have gathered those beauties that preserve it from decay and proclaim its immortality. Well, indeed, have you profited by your visit to the classic lands of Greece and Rome, where Science, Literature, and Art had their birth, and to which the scholar's heart in every clime will forever turn in holy pilgrimage. The devotion you have shown in the past is a guarantee for your piety in the future."

Sometimes we have felt it to be our duty to criticise the course of Archbishop McCluskey towards the educational institutions of his own church and diocese. When we thought his Grace deserved a little censure we have not failed to administer it. But whatever the Archbishop or his most zealous admirers may have imagined to the contrary it would have afforded us more pleasure at any time to speak of his efforts and influence in the language of approbation could we conscientiously have done so. For if we have never experienced the slightest courtesy from his Grace—if he has never evinced to us any good-will—there was no reason why we should feel hurt at his slighting us, since none could have been more highly honored by the highest, most learned, and most distinguished of the Catholic prelates of America, not excepting his illustrious predecessor. We have never entertained, therefore, any such feeling; and the best proof of the fact is, that now, when we think he deserves credit, no Catholic can award it to him more cordially than we, "heretic" or "infidel" though we may be called by the narrow-minded and thoughtless among his admirers. Once we criticised Archbishop McCluskey, because we honestly thought he treated Manhattan College unfairly; now his Grace elicits our approbation by the opposite course—by doing simple justice to that institution. We have before us copies of several of our city papers containing reports of the last commencement exercises of Manhattan College. We select the Tablet to quote from, partly because we understand it is the organ of the Archbishop, but chiefly because, so far as we are aware, its course is al-

ways characterized by enlightened moderation and fairness without bigotry—because, at least, this is what we should expect from editors of the abilities, experience, and good taste of Mrs. Sadlier and Dr. Bronson. We regret we can only make room for a brief extract from the report of the Tablet; but brief as the following passage from the Archbishop's address is, it embodies much thought, much truth, much justice:

"The interest and delight with which the audience have listened to you, young gentlemen, ought to be sufficient proof of their appreciation, and of the successful manner in which you have acquitted yourselves.

"For myself, I need not say that it has been a subject of special interest, and in that relation in which I stand with regard to the Catholic youth of our colleges, everything concerning them becomes to me a source of pleasure and interest. When young men acquit themselves as you have done to-day, it is to me a source of pride as well as of joy. I am delighted to see the continued progress of this excellent institution."

Had the Archbishop spoken thus justly, impartially, and boldly, three years ago, without pausing to inquire what the Jesuits of Fordham and New York might say or think, there is not the slightest probability that we would ever have made any criticism upon him. But it is creditable to the prelate, as well as to the philosopher, not to be above acknowledging that he is wiser to-day than he was yesterday, last year, or four years ago. We are sincerely glad of this improvement, for so little disposed are we to say a harsh word of any archbishop or bishop, that the Most Rev. Dr. McCluskey is the only one of whom we have ever penned a line in the language of censure.

We should like to give our impressions here of the peculiar qualifications of the present director of Manhattan, the Rev. Brother Paulian—those qualifications never known to fail under favorable circumstances—but we must abstain for the same reason that we have often abstained from speaking, as he deserves, of the Rev. Brother Patrick, the first successful president of that institution, and now, with eminent fitness, the head of the order in this country. What that reason is we

cannot explain in any language more explicit than that of Pliny the Younger's exclamation, "How many of the learned are concealed from view by modesty, or an unwillingness to have their name brought before the public!*

We have not yet been able to do ourselves the pleasure of visiting the College of the Christian Brothers at St. Louis, but we have long had ample reason to believe that it is an excellent institution—eminently a worthy sister of Manhattan. While wishing, recently, that we could be an eye-witness of its merits, a gentleman in every way competent to form a correct estimate of its character, and in whose judgment and fidelity we have implicit faith, sent us an article on the subject, which we take pleasure in placing before our readers, although it contains one or two passages that put our modesty to a pretty severe test:

If for one thing more than another we were asked a reason for our high appreciation of the Quarterly Review, it would be precisely on this score we would claim for it universal patronage, viz.: that it invariably advocates the cause of liberal education, in season and out of season, impressing upon the community the urgent demands of this all-important subject. It may be that we should find ourselves at variance with some of the views occasionally set forth on some points connected with education; nor should we, in such case, withold our conscientious opinion a whit more than we do now when we have reason to approve. Knowing from experience the Quarterly's readiness to treat of this subject, we have, we presume, not calculated amiss when we counted upon a page or two for these incoherent remarks. A further motive for our seeking their insertion in this journal is the impartiality it generally manifests, irrespective of creed or party. We have seen in more than one number educators commended simply for their work. This was found to be good, and they were awarded their just meed of praise. It was evidently no detraction from their merits, in the mind of the editor, that they happened to differ from him in religion. This shows a good judgment and a better will. It shows that good is to be praised because it is good, evil to be censured because it is evil. We have seen with equal pleasure and admiration the Quarterly devote

* O quantum eruditorum aut modestia ipsorum, aut quies operit ac subtrahit famæ!—*Ep.* vii. 25.

whole articles to setting forth Georgetown, Notre Dame, and Manhattan Colleges. But whilst we noticed the readiness of the Quarterly to do ample justice to the teaching orders of the Catholic Church in this country, we have felt, as a friend to education generally, and especially in our own flourishing West, that one institution, strangely enough, well nigh escaped its observation, whether from its unassuming character and that of its conductors, or from its distance from the place of publication, or from some less obvious cause; but undoubtedly it was from no lack of merit in the institution alluded to, nor from any reluctance in the Quarterly to note merit wherever and whenever found.

The institution we speak of, is known as the College of the Christian Brothers, St. Louis, Mo. There are many other excellent educational establishments west of the Mississippi, which we could name with credit to themselves and pride to the community that possesses them; but we choose to speak of this, in particular, because we know it best. We have marked its origin, have watched its progress, can testify to what we have both seen and heard. We have seen it little more than twenty years ago open with about half-a-dozen boarders, and as many day-scholars. We have seen it increase in numbers, enlarge its buildings repeatedly, extend its course of studies, in fact, rival, long since, older institutions; and now, that there is no more room for building, we see it about to occupy one of the finest and most elevated sites around St. Louis, about two miles west of the city limits, fronting King's Highway on the west; and about one mile north of the magnificent new park now laying out in the neighborhood of Cabane's Lake. But though we set high value upon a salubrious and beautiful situation for a college, knowing the close sympathy that exists between mind and body, and knowing, moreover, how elevating and invigorating to the inner man is the prospect of a delightful scenery and a pure air, yet we set more value still upon the mental and moral supplies and facilities furnished the young aspirant on the road to usefulness and honor by the laudable development and faithful exercise of the talents God gave him. We think all three should, as far as feasible, be harmoniously developed, viz.: the physical, the mental, and the moral departments of human nature, with, however, primary stress upon the moral, as being absolutely indispensable for the individual's own highest and chiefest good.

We have frequently visited the college of the Christian Brothers, have examined the several classes, and have sat occasionally to hear

them recite their ordinary lessons during the year, besides attending the annual public examination, whenever we were not from home; and we can affirm that a better training, a greater facility for reaching the end that ought to be proposed in education could hardly be desired. No doubt here, as in the best institution one can name, there is room for some improvement; for it would not be human if it were beyond all improvement. But when we see improvement made with continual approach to the desired perfection, we say, *macte esto virtute*, to any and every such. What pleased us, especially in the mental department, is the thoroughness with which each specialty is taught, together with the judicious mixture of the *utile et dulce*, the useful and the refining, the sciences and the classics. This even balance is but simple justice to the minds of youth. It is training up for that manly gait, as far removed from levity and fickleness on the one hand, as from a limping clownish, one-sidedness on the other. But, more yet are we pleased to see so prominent a place given to English literature and language. It should not be difficult to convince anybody that this is right. Our mother tongue ought certainly not be a strange tongue; and, however much we may be disposed to censure the bigotry or ill-taste of some of the brightest ornaments of English classics, still we do not think students should be more ignorant of their strange vagaries than of the monstrosities of pagan extravagance. When, besides, as we are glad to note in the College of the Christian Brothers, a sound philosophy is made to steady and regulate, if we may so express it, and direct all the sciences and the different departments of knowledge, the young mind that has been taught to love truth for its own loveliness, and to maintain the side of right from a high sense of honor and duty, has not much to fear from the shafts of sophistry or the attempts of narrow-minded selfishness.

The course of studies has been somewhat extended during the past year by additional classes in the *natural sciences*, so that it is now all that can be desired. Nearly all the students of the higher classes are determined to remain a year longer than they had intended, gladly availing themselves of their increased advantages, ere they issue forth to do honorable service on the battle-field of life. Everything connected with the college looks remarkably favorable, and seems to guarantee a prosperous career for the future. Its friends are numerous, and their number increases as it becomes better known. We have thought it but simple justice to the hard working conductors of this flourishing institution, especially to the energy and ability of its

worthy president, Brother James, to do thus much to have its claims upon the public patronage recorded in the widely-read pages of the National Quarterly Review, being well assured of its willingness to lend a shoulder in urging on the good work—education—and counting upon the well-known kindness and urbanity of the editor for the insertion of these hasty remarks of

A WESTERN.

We are satisfied that this is a faithful sketch—one which does not in the least exaggerate the merits of the St. Louis College of the Christian Brothers. But our esteemed correspondent does us injustice, although we are aware he has no such intention. We allude to the remark, that, while we have bestowed liberal attention on so many other colleges, that of the St. Louis Christian Brothers has well nigh escaped our observation. We readily admit that if this were not a mistake on the part of our correspondent we should have reason to blush; for there are none in whose competency, fidelity, and general qualifications as educators we should have more faith than in Rev. Bro. James, the present president, and Rev. Bro. Edward, his predecessor, now Visitor of the southwestern district. The latter gentleman it has been our privilege to know, as an accomplished educator, for more than ten years; and nowhere have we known a more exemplary man. As for Bro. James, we saw him in the class-room, at Manhattan College, regularly once or twice a week for several years, and could not fail to be impressed with his superior abilities and success both as an instructor and a disciplinarian. We should, therefore, have good reason to reproach ourselves had the St. Louis college escaped our observation; but if our correspondent will examine all the articles in which we have discussed the respective merits of the different colleges for seven years past, we think he will find there is not one of them in which the high character of the College of the Christian Brothers, at St. Louis, does not receive emphatic recognition. If we have not said as much of it as it deserved, it was certainly not for any lack of appreciation of its good work, but because we have been hoping, from time to time, to do ourselves the pleasure of visiting

it and giving our impressions of it in full—a hope which, we may add, we have by no means relinquished.

Rock Hill College we have visited, and having complied with the request of its worthy president, Rev. Bro. Bettelin, to examine some of its higher classes, especially in Latin and Greek, we can bear testimony to its excellence. We have now before us a copy of the Baltimore Catholic Mirror of July 6, which contains a highly interesting report of the last commencement exercises of Rock Hill. There is no paper whose estimate we would accept with more implicit faith than that of the Mirror, which we have known so long as the worthy organ of one of the greatest and noblest of prelates. But doubtless most of our Protestant readers would regard the testimony of a Protestant paper as more impartial; we, therefore quote from the Baltimore Gazette of June 28, sufficient to intimate what the liberal-minded of other denominations think of Rock Hill:

"The commencement of this flourishing institution at Ellicott City, conducted by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, Rev. Brother Bettelin, president, took place yesterday, beginning at 10½ o'clock, A. M. The number of students during the academic year just closed, was 157, over whom presided a large and able corps of professors in the various schools. The exercises of yesterday were extremely interesting, and were attended by a large and appreciative audience of the parents of students and friends of the institution from the city and adjacent country.

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"The address to the graduates was given by A. Leo Knott, Esq., and was replete with sound, practical, and eloquently expressed advice to those young gentlemen. Mr. Knott's theme was upon the value of classical studies as a necessary element in the formation of a sound taste."

As we have a copy of this address in pamphlet form, we can agree with the Gazette that it is eloquent and good. We extract a passage or two, not because they are better than others we might select, but because, as our readers, will see, they embody views which are in strict accordance with those

we have given ourselves, on the same subject, in these pages, more than once.

"And here let me step aside for a moment to make a just acknowledgment to the noble, the inestimable service rendered to mankind—to the literature of every nation of Europe by the monastic institutions of the Middle and succeeding ages. In that period of eclipse which passed over Europe from the fourth to the ninth century, while the barbarians of the North were pouring wave after wave of invasion upon the Roman Empire, breaking it into pieces after repeated shocks, and sweeping away almost every vestige of its civilization; it was into the monasteries, which had then begun to be founded by the piety of the faithful as asylums from the horror and desolation of the times, that the great spirits of antiquity to whom I have referred took refuge from the ruin which threatened them. In these sacred retreats, as in feudal strongholds, were they saved from the fury of the Goth, the Hun, the Vandal—there, so to speak, were they entertained and preserved, by the pious and laborious monks, who became their zealous and indefatigable pupils—copied and recopied with tender care, and elaborate pains, their great masterpieces—circulated and spread a knowledge of them through all their houses and orders—became the teachers and disseminators of their learning and wisdom throughout every country—and prepared the way, and were the most efficient instruments—when the waters of this barbarian deluge had subsided—in bringing about, on the discovery of the art of printing, that great revival of learning that burst in all its splendor on Europe, under Cosmo de Medici and Leo the Tenth.

"And yet there are some ingrates, hardened in ignorance or bigotry, who term these noble men ignorant—these saviours, under God, of the vast treasures of ancient literature—who term their labors useless, and their lives without fruit! The genius of history might be invoked in vain to find an instance of ingratitude to parallel this. It approaches, in its vileness and atrocity, the crime of that man, who, having been saved from imminent shipwreck by another, having been welcomed, fed, and clothed by him—having been armed and equipped and placed upon his journey, should turn around and make the first use of his strength, and his new weapons, thus acquired, to stab his benefactor to the heart. There is not a boy in the schools, not a scholar in his library, not a statesmen in his cabinet, not a man anywhere who has, directly or indirectly, shared in the benefits of classical learning that does not stand the obliged and everlasting debtor of these monks of the

East and West. There be those who repudiate the debt, but that repudiation does not cancel the debt, it only destroys the debtor."

To this we need only add that the "monks," whose labors form the subject of this article, are zealous, faithful, and successful emulators of the good men, and benefactors of mankind, so well described by Mr. Knott.

Passing rapidly from Ellicott City to Philadelphia, we find in the latter, La Salle College, another institution in which noble, faithful work is done. We find also in the Catholic Standard, an honest and enlightened chronicler of the deeds which illustrate its progress as a literary institution. For our part we would ask no more reliable testimony than that of the organ of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Woods; and its estimate is fully sustained by such Protestant journals as the Press, North American, Age, and Bulletin. But we have seen for ourselves, at La Salle; a little more than a year ago we had the pleasure of being present at the recitations of some of its higher classes, and finding them worthy of comparison even with those of Manhattan. However, we must confine ourselves now to a brief extract or two from the eloquent address of Mr. John J. Curran, B. C. L., to the graduates of La Salle, at its last annual commencement. After glancing at the labors of the order in British America, Mr. Curran proceeds:

"I shall not say one word of the efforts of this noble band of self-sacrificing men in this, your great Republic. You, gentlemen, are here, and your proficiency in your various exercises, whether in the fine arts or the more solid branches of general education and culture, proves sufficiently the standard of excellence which their teaching has attained."

There is another passage in Mr. Curran's address which we could not pass over, if for no other reason than that it always pleases us to see men invested with high authority, whether ecclesiastical or civil, exercise that authority, and the influence which accompanies it, in favor of the development of the human mind. Accordingly, we cheerfully make room for the following, but in doing so must take leave for the present of La Salle College:

"And looking around me now at this vast and distinguished assembly, in the presence of his lordship, your reverend bishop; in the presence of these high dignitaries of Church and State, who are here taking so deep an interest in your success and in the cause of public instruction; in the presence of the many kind friends who now surround you and applaud at the crowning of your college labors, I would merely say to you in conclusion, and this I say from the bottom of my heart—Would you prove yourselves worthy children of La Salle College; would you show to the world that you have profited by your training, and that you adhere to the golden precepts that have been so carefully instilled into your youthful hearts; then bear ever in mind, and have always throughout life for your motto, the beautiful sentiment lately expressed by the gifted writer in 'Good Words:'

"'Perish policy and cunning;
Perish all that fear the light;
Whether winning, whether losing,
Fear the Lord and do the right."

Now, what shall we expect if we turn from Philadelphia to San Francisco? A generation has not yet passed since California was little more and little better than a wilderness. Who would have believed, twenty years ago, that so soon as 1872, San Francisco could boast a flourishing college? Still more unlikely it would have even seemed to Catholics, that if a college could be established so soon its establishment would be due to the devotion and zeal of the modest, unpretending Christian Brothers—men who rather conceal than display their learning and talents. Such, nevertheless, is the fact. St. Mary's College, at San Francisco, now rivals La Salle College at Philadelphia; and that it will continue to do so we have good reason to believe, having enjoyed the acquaintance of its talented and amiable president, Rev. Bro. Justin, for nearly, if not quite, a decade.

At St. Mary's, also, there has been an address to the graduates at last commencement, and we have procured a copy of it. We find it to be the address of a priest. Those born and brought up in the most "popish" part of a popish country, as we have been, may be excused by the most zealous opponents of popery, for believing that men are not the less liberal-minded, the less learned, or the less friendly to the great cause

of education for being priests, and for praying to God in the language of Seneca and Cicero. If our intercourse with the priests, and their truly paternal kindness even to heretics, have failed to make us a Catholic, they have, at least, rendered it impossible that we could ever regard them as otherwise than eminently friendly to the pursuit of knowledge and the development of the intellect. Nor is the address before us, coming as it does from the distant Pacific, calculated to alter that estimate, but the contrary. Whether we are right or wrong in this will be best seen by an extract or two from the Rev. Father Gibney's eloquent remarks. Take, for example, the following passage:

"Most Rev. President, we love to foster education; we would fan the torch of learning into a brilliant blaze; we would bow down before this altar and worship at its shrine; we revere the memories of the great ones in every age who have stood forward in bold relief and achieved wonders in every department of science. We owe them a debt of gratitude which we cheerfully acknowledge—we would fain walk in their footsteps and attain after them eminence in solid learning; but we would do justice to all our faculties, violence to none. The child who demands at our hands education is created in the image of his God, as we are—"of soul and body is he created;" he has received from his Creator the right to proper education, a due development of all his faculties. That right there is no power on earth authorized to deprive him of, but, on the contrary, a duty corresponding with his right is by the same Creator imposed upon us as his guardians."

Which of our Protestant divines could utter nobler sentiments? We regret we cannot make room for several passages which are equally excellent—equally favorable to the highest development of which the human mind is capable, but we should not feel justified did we omit the following fragment from the good father's admirable peroration:

"Hence we consider that to the constitution of a good citizen, or the stability of human government, moral education, the chastening of the conscience, the purifying of the heart, the training of the will, are of paramount importance. To make good, faithful, intelligent citizens, and this by instilling into the youthful mind moral and reli-

gious principles, to cultivate the soul with its faculties and point out its eternal destiny, and at the same time to blend and harmonize with these the highest intellectual training—such is the aim of St. Mary's College.

"My young friends, be grateful for and continue to improve your opportunity; drink deep from the fountain of learning; use the capacities of your mind to investigate the works of creation; study their countless beauties, but in them recognize their Creator. Look up to the firmament; measure the distance of star from star; calculate the magnitude of each; demonstrate their mutual relations to each other; or dive into the bowels of the earth, bring up those hidden treasures that will in so many ways be useful to man, and see in all these the providence, wisdom, and power of the Creator. Cross the briny deep, behold it in calm and tempest, study its many secrets, and adore the God who controls the elements. Examine the smallest flower, and, in its tiny frame or exquisitely painted cup, discover the beauties and evidences of divine power. Open the entire book of nature, and on every page read emblazoned the name of God. And so it is in the study of every science; the mind, properly trained, sees God in all things and traces all things to God."

We have now given what we promised—merely a synopsis of the labors of five colleges, situated in as many different States of the Republic; all founded, established, and still successfully conducted by the Christian Brothers. Not one of the fraternity has ever asked us to do so; nay not one of them has ever asked us to write one word in their favor. And still more emphatically can we affirm that not one of them has ever asked us to write a word even against those degenerate rivals of theirs whose jealousy and envy have so often prompted them to have recourse to the most unworthy means to depreciate the noble work done by those good men. But we trust we do not need to have true merit pointed out and explained to us, or distinguished from its mimic semblance. We know sufficient of chemistry and metallurgy, we trust, to be able to distinguish gold from brass, and we trust we possess sufficient honesty and sufficient courage to warn all whom it may concern that, although the base metal may be made to shine somewhat by burnishing, it is no less a fraud for those who vend it to seek to palm it off for the noble metal.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences.* By WILLIAM WHEWELL. London. 1870.

2. *Lectures on Metaphysics.* By Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart. London. 1868.

3. *De la Logique d' Aristote.* Par BARTHELEMY SAINT HILLAIRE. Paris. 1858.

4. *Traite de Logique.* Par L'ABBE DE CONDILLAC. Paris.

IF, instead of aberration and eccentricity, man had always exhibited a fondness for rectilinear motion, and were found yielding a willing and uniform obedience to some known principle of gravitation—itself equally uniform; if he loved restraint more and license less, seeing in a wholesome exercise of the former the utmost enlargement of freedom of which he is at all capable, and suspecting in the latter a specious, seductive lure, which, under promise of liberty, conducts to rock-hewn dungeons and to chains fasténed in the rock; and then, this being his normal condition, if his external environments were of a nature to favor growth and expansion in the same direction, his requirements would be quite unlike what they are to-day. Indeed, as to a vast proportion of his ailments, he would be very far on the road towards perfect convalescence, a great array of quack nostrums, and sick-room appendages to be instantly swept out as rubbish—attending physicians to be straightway dismissed.

And were either of the above-named conditions true, so that, in a given case, his mental economy remaining as it now is, he might, in some sort, seek refuge against it, in certain medicative provisions afforded by external accidents, then, too, the aspect of things might be somewhat changed for the better. But we may imagine a case, where these accidents of the external, instead of yielding such antidote, or contributing anything in the way of alleviation even, rather invite and encourage the mischief. Nor need we travel far to find the

parallel for such a supposed case. Going back less than a century, we may make ourselves present witnesses at the inauguration of a republican government, and listen to the announcement of certain cardinal, fundamental principles, among the rest of liberty and equality—an announcement unfolding altogether a theory of government so unlike anything the world had before witnessed that it appeared not an improvement of an old thing, but the very birth-struggle and creation of an absolutely new thing. And as we stand there, spectators of the august ceremony, we may not unreasonably ask ourselves whether we are listening to this great announcement—whether we who are rendered almost giddy in this lately-acquired possession of these great truths, thus enunciated in those general terms which were the only suitable and becoming terms, and thus placed in our hands without those qualifying, restraining, explanatory clauses which would have been out of place and unseasonable—we say we may not unreasonably ask ourselves whether, in being made the recipients and the administrators of these great truths under such circumstances, we shall not be very likely to put upon them too liberal a construction, to give them too free a scope, to ask from them extravagant results, to be betrayed by them into untenable positions—in a word, whether, in our delighted rapture over the newly-received gifts, we shall not be very likely to forget, as we are not reminded of it, that although we and our children are to be henceforth free, we are to be free only upon conditions—we are to be free by law, and by acknowledging the authority of law. And as we ask these questions we may well fear, lest in our eagerness to receive the gift we *shall* forget the conditions, and so in the end become inflated with romantic hopes for ouselves, with extravagant schemes for others.

Passing on from these remarks—somewhat in the nature of an introduction—to the main subject, but still keeping in mind, as the case above supposed, we ask, whether standing there, interested spectators of the inaugural ceremonies, our hopes of a brilliant future, clouded more or less, as might be by dim revelations of the ever attendant evil,

where was promise of so much good, did it enter into our speculations at all that the licentiousness we deprecated would extend to our modes of thought—our habits of argumentation? Did it occur to us at all that this thing we call logic, founded as it is in strict law, in whatever it attempts, and for whatever it accomplishes, dependant always upon strict law, no foreign auxilliary of passion, or prejudice, or emotion even, ever for a moment admitted into its service—did it occur to us at all, that in the *general* licentiousness, which was more or less a cause of apprehension and uneasiness, this very thing we call logic, would be first of all to give sign of the danger? Did we once think of any peculiar sensitiveness appertaining to *it* in this regard, which would cause it to be first in announcing that our forebodings were about to be realized? Possibly, to some few of us, such questions may have occurred—to most of us, probably, not at all. For multiform as are the objections which have been from time to time urged against a democrative form of government; they may most of them be resolved into this one—your liberty will degenerate into licentiousness. And it is a noteworthy fact that the authors of this objection, in constructing their argument, have bestowed very little, if any, attention upon what we have here termed licentiousness of logic. Nor, indeed, is this any cause for surprise. The past history of the world furnishing scarcely any precedents or reliable data towards this inquiry, applicable to our American type of civilization; it has been necessarily of a speculative character—hypothesis, conjecture, and analogy being chiefly relied upon to furnish material for the solution of the problem. Now, however, we might, following these guides, be very naturally led to conclude that free institutions would be likely to beget an excessive and hurtful freedom of *conduct*, so that under them we should find lawlessness, disorder, and insubordination; it would seem that this *mental* obliquity, of which we are speaking, would hardly be detected and brought into notice, except by the light of experience only. We say *hardly* detected, not denying all possibility thereof, for we are too familiar with a similar mode of reasoning on another and a kindred

subject, to have been absolutely precluded from applying it here. We constantly speak of the contagious effect of one virtue upon another, and when we teach our children even so humble a virtue as neatness, or order, we feel assured we have gained some help towards something vastly higher. But if one virtue thus contributes towards the formation and growth of another, between which and itself there is no special sympathy or connection, only a general habit of virtue being thus established, then with still greater reason might we expect, that by this law of contagion a habit—as a habit—of freedom should extend *its* influence beyond that circle where it was designed to find exercise, and where its hurtful excess was apprehended, and affect also prejudicially very much that lies without. We say we *might* so have reasoned, and we are at pains to give place to this remark, since however clear the testimony may be, which experience furnishes to the truth of any theory, that theory will be received with still additional confidence and force of conviction, if it is considered that reason itself, unaided by experience, might have taught the same lesson.

We seem then to have presented for our survey a somewhat anomalous case—a condition of affairs where, so far as may be given us, we must serve two masters. For in its very essence, logic is not only law, but despotic law. Has it any power for good or for evil—it is the power of despotism. Has it any gifts for us—it is a despotic hand that bestows them. In its domain it is sole, supreme monarch, its decisions resting not upon, caring little for cumulative approbation of councils, sanction of parliaments, or the still inferior tribute of applauding multitudes. Elsewhere it may be true, that in a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom; but the moment she listens to other voice than her own, that moment she becomes unworthy to be listened to. Elsewhere aid from abroad may be looked for to supply a deficiency at home. The moment she enlists into her service a foreign ally, that moment her strength is weakened, and her usefulness impaired. Not wholly unknown to us, nor wholly disesteemed, is a magnanimity which favors an inferior and spares a

fallen foe—a generosity whose open hand scatters its largesses far and wide on this side and on that—an amiable benevolence of temper, which will have concord and smooth-gliding peace, even at a questionable price—a fervid eloquence and an impassioned rhetoric, which shall stir the languid soul into a new and higher life. But logic cares for none of these, mourns the loss of none of them; nay, these banished forever, she rather now rejoices, since now no breath of unseasonable intruder shall jostle the nicely-adjusted scales she holds with steady, impartial hand—no unhallowed step, with hostile jar, shall disturb the process, within whose quiet depths shall crystallize, by an undeviating law, those angular forms of beauty she loves so well.

Keeping in mind then the true nature of logic, and by no means allowing ourselves to forget, how certain unfavorable accidents of the external are often superadded to a natural innate repellency of authority, whose united tendency is to affect whatever lives and moves by law prejudicially, and so, of course, logic, even to the extent of destroying its value altogether, let us pursue the investigation a little more in detail, and inquire into a few of the more prominent forms under which a licentiousness of logic, in its relation to theories of reform, shows itself. And this main division of the subject at once suggests itself—certain abstract principles, in themselves of indisputable trust, are strained beyond their legitimate scope; or they are surveyed in an isolated position, dissevered from other principles equally indisputable, and so fail of that wholesome, nay, indispensable assistance, which such acknowledged relationship imposes; or such abstract principles, hastily assumed to be true, are either wholly false, or require, in the very act of stating them, reservations and qualifying conditions. And although indirect allusion has been made to the fact already, it may not be amiss to add here, and once for all, that it matters not under what temptation, supposed to afford more or less ground of exculpation, or with what greater or less degree of self-consciousness we are betrayed into the above errors. Such considerations as these, however worthy of notice elsewhere, have no place here,

where we are concerned not with pleas of extenuation, but with results—results which remain the same, whether such pleas be true or false. And in pursuing the subject, we shall endeavor, with a view to the collateral advantage, to select, for purposes of illustration, such acknowledged instances of transgression, as being of most common occurrence, or productive of greatest mischief would, if cured, result in highest profit, not, however, forbidding ourselves to make use of other less pregnant instances should the main design seem likely to be thereby better subserved.

Endeavoring then, to preserve to the word licentiousness, in its somewhat new application here, the full sense which belongs to it in its more usual application, and so bearing in mind that it is a product of passion, of impulse, of caprice, and especially, of inordinate desire, and therefore open to censure; although the thing desired be in itself lawful, we proceed to inquire wherein abstract principles, in themselves of indisputable truth, are strained beyond their legitimate scope. Quite prevalent is a kind of reasoning which seems to assume that, because a certain proportion is absolutely true, it is therefore capable of being absolutely exhausted by a finite intelligence, and so is incapable of being taxed, still by a finite intelligence, beyond its true teachings and safe deductions. But without dwelling here upon the fact—which might lead us into an inquiry more curious than relevant to our present purpose—that all moral truth, partaking of the nature of the infinite, can hardly be reducible to absolute possession by a finite intelligence, it is enough to say, that the manifest errors into which such reasoning conducts us, furnishes sufficient practical evidence upon which to challenge its correctness. And one very frequent form under which such errors occur, is in the confounding of finite with infinite. Analogical reasoning, uncertain and unsafe as it always is, is, too, always seductive; and when in addition to this it is considered how there are very many subjects presenting themselves for investigation where analogy is the chief or only instrument at our command, it would hardly seem surprising if, in the discussion of this class of subjects, we should be found exacting from it

more than it is capable of yielding. A simple illustration is this—as a general proposition, it is wholly true, that stagnation does not consist with perfect happiness, or, in other words, without activity and equivalent fruit, happiness is impossible.

The science of astronomy furnishes a more extended illustration. It is often claimed that not only this little earth upon which we live, but the entire universe, is inhabited by intelligent beings. So far indeed has this claim been carried, that upon its assumed truth a supposed argument is built by the caviller against the doctrine of the Atonement; for, says such supposed argument, how absurd to imagine, that for this small portion of the universe, such a costly outlay of means should have been afforded for its deliverance, quite disproportioned, as is said, to anything which such most insignificant fraction of a great whole could have demanded. And this claim that other worlds are thus inhabited, rests upon the assertion, that the Supreme Being not only does nothing in vain, but that he employs no greater instrumentality—no more expensive machinery, than is necessary to accomplish the proposed end. And cumulative force is sought for this argument, by pointing to the fact, that upon this earth we not only fail to find anything created in vain, but a return is everywhere found proportioned to the cost. To all which there seems sufficient reply—that to argue a waste of expenditure, from what to our limited and imperfect vision seems only an *inadequate* return—no *absolute, entire* failure being established—would be to fall into an error by forcing the analogy unjustly. How, with an infinite power of working, that can be termed a waste of expenditure, while there is any, even the smallest return, seems not easy to imagine. Indeed, to argue that there must always be a *quid pro quo* when the artificer is infinite—that no expenditure is pardonable, without its full equivalent—even supposing, which is far from true, that such equivalent were properly left to be determined by a fallible arbiter, at once reduces the Creator, with infinite resources, down to a level with man the created, who beggared in means, receives as a suppliant, even the crust that keeps him from starvation. To a necessitated, utilitarian

drudge like man, who is warned at every step to husband his resources, and who is not wholly without excuse, when he thinks of Niagara, with all its awakening sublimity, and elevating influences, as a stupendous waste, because it turns no spindles, it may also appear an equal folly, that yonder starry host

> "Forever singing, as they shine,
> The hand that made us, is divine,"

should have been created for so very insignificant a purpose, as to only "declare the glory of God, and show forth his handy-work," even though there may have entered into that divine purpose the further thought, that whatever promised to contribute, by its collateral aid, towards a plan of redemption for which an infinite price was thought worthy, could not be either an inappropriate, or an extravagant expenditure. But while this may satisfy the "necessitated drudge," it satisfies not logic, which says, the greater once determined upon, all the less follow.

For aught, then, that appears to the contrary—and we say it as a part of the argument, though at the hazard of its being esteemed only a splenetic outburst—an expenditure which had regard to the increased happiness and higher advancement of a race, whose existence, and whose necessities too, are not left in doubt, may be quite as far from being wasted as it would have been by being directed to the mere multiplication of intelligencies of equal frailty and fallibility. For those who find their demands answered only in statistical tables, and who find a compensatory satisfaction against an existing cause of uneasiness, by extending numerically what is in itself allied with infirmity, it may be difficult to accept a logic which reduces these rolling spheres to a mere instrument for man's advancement and man's gratification, instead of affording a habitation for myriads more, to whom attaches a similar infirmity; but there are possibly not a few who will not unwillingly listen to an argument which allows them to contemplate the starry heavens as a creation far removed from all strain of any created touch, and so, without painful stint, or

reservation, or alloy, to be received as an efficient, and not unneedful auxilliary towards a more perfect communion with the Maker of them all.

But again—let us take another instance. Man's spiritual nature is altogether paramount in value and importance to his material nature. Cultivation and improvement of the former have an elevating tendency, both in the process and in the results; and promises, too, what seems an indispensable aid towards the realization of certain pet fancies the world has for long set its heart upon; while the same attention bestowed upon the latter is for the most part attended by an effect just the opposite—gross and sensual appetites thereby stimulated, what is naturally sordid and grovelling degraded to a still lower level, and all social advancement rather hindered than helped. All this, and more to the same purpose, being true, it follows, we are told, that there is a manifest incongruity in the superior development always thus far exhibited by the material, above and beyond anything to which man's spiritual nature can point in its history; and this unseemly incongruity thus happily established, we are bid to take courage and be of good cheer, for what is thus opposed to the fitness of things may not long endure. All this is to be soon changed. A stone's throw in advance is the bright spot, which, with only a good strong pull together at the oars, we may shoot ahead into. Awaiting us now, even at the door, is the triumphant revolution by which the usurper is to lose the throne he has so long unjustly occupied, and the true heir is to come into his long withheld but rightful possessions; and, as it is important to add, we are promised all this as likely to be compassed in this present state of being. Consoling thoughts—comfortable reflections, these doubtless are; so much so, that did they appear to rest upon solid foundations, we might extract from them a certain solace, not unneedful, when the inquiry occurs why, for thousands of years, this blessed jubilee has been deferred.

But are the foundations solid? Are we warranted in availing ourselves of the solace? We do not call in question the apparent incongruity as at present exhibited, nor do we deny

the propriety of the deduction, if it can be first established that there is any necessity, in the nature of the case, that this apparent violation of the fitness of things should find its cure or its explanation in this life. But can such necessity be demonstrated? Cognizant, as we are, of a certain ephemeral existence, and of the conditions that pertain to it, and cognizant, too, of the fact that the same existence is to undergo a change, by which it shall become no longer ephemeral, but everlasting, and shall become, too, subject to other and in every respect new conditions, where can we find any warrant for asserting that the incongruity complained of must be removed in that state of being which comes first in order of time, rather than in that which comes afterwards? Nay, more; if man's life here is but an infinitismal speck when compared with his whole life, then in proportion to this disproportion is the probability that when we survey the whole we shall find that what appeared incongruous appeared so because we had hitherto beheld but a part; and since there is such strong probability that this explanation will prove the true one, we must absolutely negative its possibility before we can pronounce the present condition of affairs an incongruity at all. Given this, a complex creature, that is, a creature having a two-fold nature, the one not only unlike its fellow, but hostile to it, and then given two states of being, to which belongs a corresponding unlikeness, through both which states of being such creature is to pass, and what other than this would be required as a rational interruption of, a strait conclusion from, the whole problem—that each of these parts should seek and find its own special and chief development in that one of the two states of being which should best accord with its own special necessities and affinities? Seeing that there *are* two states of being, all whose respective arrangements and conditions are entirely opposite, and also a two-fold nature, whose separate parts have a character corresponding with these opposite states of being, each to each, why select that one of these two states which is confessedly, and, as we suppose, unfavorable to spiritual growth and favorable to a material advancement, and demand that here the former shall be preferred and a

triumph be awarded to it, against and in violation of an economy which favors no such result, but seems to have had in view other results, quite the opposite? What necessity, then, for creating a difficulty or a mystery or an incongruity, when there would really seem to be none? The only necessity is this—that man's spiritual nature, being first in value, should be first provided for in the order of time, which is no necessity at all. The locomotive, which, if it have no soul of its own, seems almost an incarnation, if we may take such liberty with the word, may appear with all its wealth of exquisite mechanism, to be an incongruity, when we survey it today in its narrow, low-browed, smoke-begrimed prison-house, harnessed to the insignificant car laden with wood-billets, whose servitor, and nothing more, it thus seems to be; such incongruity it would be unhesitatingly pronounced by one as yet uninformed of its true sphere of action. And so the soul, harnessed to this insignificant body, whose servitor it for the time being is, and little more, may appear an incongruity today, but yonder track, lifted upon the springing arches of eternity, explains it all.

We have spoken of this life as being chiefly favorable to material, rather than spiritual growth, and how far this presumption is warranted, may be worth a moment's attention—our purpose, however, being rather to indicate a certain train of thought, than to pursue it into any minute detail. And the simple fact that this is a material universe, goes far, when rightly considered, to sustain such presumption. Man is here brought chiefly into contact with material forces, which in a variety of ways, and through a variety of motions, invite, nay more, demand, his chief attention. Material agents surround him everywhere, endowed with wonderful powers, which powers are for the most part latent, and unless aroused and evoked by his patient, searching investigations, they must ever remain latent, and so unapplied, and so a profitless waste. And so, too, by his very constitution, man is chiefly addressed and incited to action by material wants. The absolute pressure of these wants, not for a moment to be shunned, is, beyond all possibility of denial, incomparably beyond any similiar pressure

growing out of his spiritual necessities. He has always found, and, with small abatement, still finds himself a toiling drudge, his specific office being to keep himself, that is, his animal nature alive—his every energy taxed to the utmost to procure aliment for his mere bodily subsistence, he not seldom failing even of that. There is not a day in his whole life upon earth, when he is not reminded by an inexorable law, which is never for a moment suspended, that such bodily aliment is for him an absolute necessity; for that day at least, of so much more consequence to him than any and all mere spiritual acquisitions, that these latter are rather to be shunned than sought after, so long as it remains doubtful even whether they may not hinder that first great paramount purpose. And this demand, clamorously importunate as it is in relation to his own individual wants, not seldom acquires a vastly superadded force, when he surveys his relations to others who are dependent upon him.

This we say is man's condition in the past, and the historical argument, to an extent at least, allows us to presume that in this particular it will remain substantially the same, and that the things which have been are those which shall be. But as to rely upon such argument might seem in some sort to be a begging of the question at issue, let us inquire whether there be any grounds to render it probable, that the above necessity will ever rest upon the race with less weight than it now does—whether the law under which he lives to-day promises to become so modified and relaxed that he may partially escape from under it, and so be left at liberty to bestow a larger share of his energies than he has hitherto done elsewhere. And while very many other considerations are at hand applicable to this point, our limits forbid at present a reference to but one of them. The curse pronounced upon Adam and his descendants, at the time of his expulsion from Paradise, has received various interpretations, but we presume it will be admitted by all, that at the time of its utterance it had some certain significance, and that such significance remains without alteration or abridgment. But if it had any fixed meaning whatever, then it must have determined, not only that man should earn his bread in the sweat of his face, but the amount of labor re-

quisite to that end must have been also fixed—so much bread, for so much labor. And unless we suppose that a law which in its origin was thus determinate has since become less so, and hence inflicts a penalty which fluctuates from one time to another, we are driven to conclude, that to-day, many thousand years removed from the time of its infliction, the curse means just what it did then, and to-day also the rule is—so much bread for so much labor. And upon this supposition, it is evident the necessity above alluded to, which makes man a toiling drudge—his specific office being to keep himself alive—is in no wise relieved; and so the deduction attempted to be drawn from that necessity stands unimpaired.

The argument thus presented may appear to some to have been unnecessarily labored, but when a no less distinguished author than Tulloch assures us that, in the past progress of physical science, we have a presumption for the future similar progress of moral science; and especially when it is considered what immense superstructure, looking to a great social renovation, is sought to be raised upon a foundation which seems treacherous, perhaps the objection will prove not to have been well taken. And since a future state of being, however fully received in theory, is practically, to the great majority, only a dim possibility—cloud-lands hanging low in the horizon to voyagers across life's ocean, rather than a genuine *terra firma* to be reached and fastened to before nightfall, it would be small cause for surprise, if here, more than anywhere else, sentiment should prevail over logic, and so here abundant caution may be justified.

A second branch of the subject we proposed to consider, is this: an abstract principle, in itself true, is dissevered from its deserved connexion with other principles, which last, in virtue of their too absolute truth, require the one in hand to be received with greater or less limitation.

Perhaps man's finity nowhere works him a greater injury than in this—that it prevents his holding all truths in solution, so to speak, at one and the same time. For him, only one or two principles stand at once in the light—the rest darkened, eclipsed, out of sight, forgotten. However clearly it may be

given him to perceive one truth, he never perceives, even indistinctly, all truths at one and the same instant. The eye is in the forehead only, and, unluckily, there is for him but one angle of vision. This is man at his best estate, but if it happens, as it sometimes does, that that one eye in the forehead be extinguished or obscured by passion, prejudice, or otherwise, how much may then take place in—how much may then pass out of—the dark cave wherein he so gropes and stumbles, unnoticed of him, still less understood and explained by him—something quite short of Ulyssean craft then sufficing to bewilder and mislead him.

Now it is from the finity of intellect just described—more sentimental aspirations meanwhile not wanting to give to such intellectual half-sightedness a superadded power of misguidance—that the error presently to be considered arises. At one and the same time, man finds himself a sufferer from innumerable evils, with a capacity to conceive of, and a nature to yearn for, an ideal state of absolute perfection. And either because he discovers theoretically nothing to forbid the hypothesis that such ideal state may be attained, or because, framing for himself no formal theory whatever he takes counsel only of sentiment, or surrenders himself to be the sport of wayward fancies, he is led to propose to himself a system, if system it can be called, which looks to the attainment of such a state as not only possible, but as of sufficient promise to justify set purpose of its accomplishment. Quite evident indeed, it may be, that by the help of newly-acquired aids, or by greatly increased efficiency imparted to old ones, he must advance at a rate far beyond any performances he can refer to in the past, before such bright goal is reached. But all this is easily ignored. The enterprise is straightway launched, freighted with lofty hopes of the regeneration of the race—wide gulfs now fixed between "me and thee" to be instantly filled up—a blessed reconstruction to be had for humanity out of those stained and shattered ruins. Truly, a jubilee altogether worthy of any cost man is likely to contribute towards it, so it were likely, or even possible, by any such cost to be come at, either speedily or otherwise.

But among other ingredients—even they, hardly as yet secured in sufficient abundance—required to be added to the crucible, whence is to flow, by some curious transmutation, the golden stream, these two may be by no means omitted—great moral and social evils must admit of an *absolute cure*, no mere alleviative specific at all meeting the exigency; and a capacity for receiving, greatly enlarged beyond the present, must in some way be had—increased readiness to *bestow*, and vastly multiplied benefactions, without such enlarged capacity, likely to make report, not of "golden stream," but rather some miserable leaden abortion, or residuary slag, of which the world has possibly sufficient store already.

And as to such enlarged capacity. As an abstract proposition it is wholly true—certainly by any human standard of measurement—that no one man should have it in his power, by virtue of his greater intelligence, or other superior resources, to oppress, or work injustice to his fellow. A state of dependence on the part of the many, co-existing with a ready disposition on the part of the few, to make the most possible for themselves out of such dependency, is a condition of things for which, as it seems, relief is to be sought at almost whatever price. And since to take from superfluity here, to be bestowed upon proportionate lack there, tends manifestly enough towards the proposed equalization, this becomes a necessity meeting us at the very threshold, and declaring itself first, and, therefore, loudest of all. This, and this only, is the Archimedean lever which is to move the world. This point gained, the field is won, and accordingly upon this point all effort is concentrated—readiness to bestow, constantly appealed to and stimulated—capacity to receive for the most part quite overlooked. As to all which it may be said generally that which one of these two helps towards the grand result, is to-day farthest from being attained, appeareth not yet.

Not to allude again particularly to a diseased sentimentality, as chargeable to a considerable extent for this error, nor deeming it necessary to refer at length, to what, as a further contribution in the same direction, just received incidental

notice, viz., that the means to work with presents itself as a demand first in order of time, we proceed to offer one or two considerations of an opposite character. In the humbler charities of life—and perhaps it would not be unlawful to find here an argument for saying, that by the All-Seeing Eye such charities are regarded with special favor, over and above what is awarded to more pretentious schemes—in such charities no such difficulty is encountered. When individual benevolence finds itself side by side with individual want, offering friendly arm to the wayworn, travel-stained pilgrim, as his step falters along the rugged paths, housing him when benighted, clothing him when naked, feeding him when hungry, when thirsty giving him but a cup of cold water to drink, no warning, prudential voice, no misgivings as to wasted or misapplied effort, interposes between the generous, ready almsgiving, and the ready-waiting beneficiary. But would you have return from vast schemes of human invention, and possibly, too, of human ambition, which aim at wholesale results, which exhibit a restive rebellion, an irreverent impatience, because great organic evils do not presently yield to your patent specific, know ye, ye must be content with such return as an *uncovenanted* reward may afford. The still small voice may accomplish that to which the earthquake was not equal. The benefit you claim to the world from these your systems of human invention, and of human fallibility too, is a benefit, if one at all, procured by your distributing and applying, in the capacity of agent, or, if you will have it so, co-operation with another, a wealth not your own—the good which springs up in thine own heart, and so a benefit to the world springs up there by the immediate touch of an Infinite hand, put forth especially to heal thy wounds and cure thee of thy sickness. It is a benefit bestowed through no intervening human medium; first designed and ordered by an infinite intelligence, and then made to flow directly into thy heart by a direct interposition in thy behalf, such gift not otherwise to be had of thee at all. And which of the two instruments wilt thou have it shall be the greater—that which comes through the agent, or that other which

comes directly from him who is not an almoner of another's bounty, but who is himself the great All-giver? Sayest thou—often we fear only shallow pretext to cover shallower philanthropy—charity begins at home, and wilt thou then deny that this wrongfully applied maxim of thine may, in the Infinite mind, be the germ of a larger growth, quite beyond thy power to comprehend?

Sayest thou, then, the enlarged capacity to receive will be forthcoming, whenever the readiness to bestow lacks field for exercise? We reply, how knowest thou that? Readiness to bestow is here already. Canst thou point to the waiting multitude without, ready for the gift thou art impatient of so long retaining? Wilt thou give a sword to the first man thou meetest, not asking first whether peradventure he be not mad?

What is so often and so confidently predicted, may indeed be true, and new, and perhaps more efficient external instrumentalities may await a continued and an enlarged investigation. But it is important to consider that the argument here exhibited in no wise forbids the supposition of such new accessions. For how a corresponding enlarged capacity of receiving is to keep pace in the future, more than it has in the past, with such supposed new accessions, doth not appear, so that the premises admitted, the conclusion insisted upon still is wanting. An impartial retrospect of the past, disclosing, as it does, a wave-like succession of stupendous inventions and astounding discoveries in physical science, so far as such instruments of progress have failed to be attended by a proportionate enlarged capacity for receiving, instead of furnishing ground of hope or encouragement, is an omen significantly portentous of limitation and of failure, since it thus appears, that even in man's much-vaunted field of eminent success, he takes with him this inevitable neutralizing element of weakness. And what is the lesson to be learned of us from such impartial retrospect? Beginning with the discovery of the art of printing—that most counted upon of them all—and adding thereto the whole vast subsequent host, with its serried ranks, and its countless devices, arranged in compact, sublime

order—bearing in mind how all these, not to be here particularly enumerated, with the discovery of this vast continent thrown into the scale, have had their birth, if not simultaneously, at such wisely-adjusted intervals, as by their subsequent union and reciprocal aid, each to the other, to constitute one gigantic, doubly-effective whole, suggesting the thought, that Nature, long enslaved and condemned to grind in her prison-house, was at length rallying and concentrating all her energies for one final struggle against her enemies—we say following out such a train of thought, and seeing how in the past is vast accumulation of forces incapable, as it appears, of profitable application—that is, for the purpose in hand—may we not well ask how an agency, imperfect, if not impotent, in itself is to acquire strength, and a working availability, merely by an addition similarly tainted with imperfection or impotency? Having bestowed upon us, in order to the proposed achievement—especially in the art of diffusing written thoughts—precisely what we may suppose the congregated wisdom of an assembled world would have asked for, had such privilege been granted it, as sufficient for such achievement, with what propriety may we now seek to amend our prayer, or with what reason expect from it, when granted, a better result than has happened to us aforetime? If the world is in possession to-day of more truth than it can at all apply with commensurate return, how, by a mere increase of such dead capital, is a more remunerative result to be looked for?

And whatever be the reply to these questions, the other inquiry which for the time we partly surrendered—the way having been now opened for its introduction—is worth a moment's notice, viz., whether there be, indeed, reasonable ground to expect that any similar space of time in the future shall be so much more crowded with great events and imposing displays, as to contribute, in a greatly increased ratio—incapacity to receive no longer insisted upon—toward that upward movement so often and so confidently predicted? To refer again to the art of printing: "Give me a place to stand upon, and I will move the world," said the ancient philosopher. So, if we will listen attentively to a cry that was uttered be-

fore that art was given us, we may hear a voice, not of some single philosopher, but a voice going up from every spot on this wide earth, where wisdom had her tabernacle and philosophy her sanctuary, until one united, swelling chorus proclaimed—Give us the art of diffusing written thoughts, and we will do more than Archimedes promised; we will move not a material, but a moral and a spiritual world! Not only shall war, and famine, and pestilence, and intemperance, and slavery, cease from the earth, but those insatiate lusts, those immoderate desires, those headlong passions, now the fruitful source of such manifold evil—these, too, shall also disappear. Nor, indeed, would it seem altogether unreasonable to require that the emptiness of such promise should have been detected beforehand, experience not yet at hand to demonstrate it—certainly not reasonable for us, who having got such experience, and in large measure still allow ourselves to be so often betrayed into a similar mistake. And we will tarry here no longer, only to observe that when it is considered how very little the acquisition of such new physical forces contributes even towards man's average *material* condition, where their chief effect is to be looked for—some new leak in the reservoir generally occurring to maintain the level at about the same point—it may serve to moderate our expectations as to any indirect aid, from the same source, towards a *spiritual* growth.

To conclude, then, under a condensed formula, what we have attempted to exhibit in the foregoing pages, we remark—licentiousness of logic, in dealing with questions of reform, assumes that inconvenience—a failure to meet its pre-established views, its ill-regulated fancies, its arbitrary decisions; and incongruity—a failure to comply with what it is pleased magisterially to term the fitness of things—afford a legitimate argument for or against a given theory. It is twice guilty—first, it arbitrarily decides what should be and what should not be, and then, it no sooner discovers somewhat seemingly inconsistent with such affirmation or negation, than the argument is complete and final.

Given to it, to construct an elaborate, curious mosaic, of ingenius device, the pieces ready-made therefor; or allowed

to enter at some point in the process, to complete the yet unfinished handiwork of another—whenever it chances upon a piece that refuses to adjust itself exactly and at all points to that position which to it seems food, or which it predetermines to be legitimate; *that*, it instantly rejects as spurious altogether and entitled to no part or lot in the matter. The secession of a State from this great family of States—if we may be allowed to find illustration here, intending that only, and not wishing, even by implication, to offer anything towards the adjustment of this *crux politicorum*—afford an instance in point. The theory of such secession is at once, and by everybody, pronounced *inconvenient*. And for several reasons. It is not fit that, with no consent of ours, a thing for which a great price has been paid to-day, shall pass out of our hand without price to-morrow. It is not fit that a great whole should be injured by the abstraction of a part, to an extent greatly beyond the intrinsic value and importance of such part. It is not fit that a precedent, even though such precedent were in itself innocent, should be established, which is likely at a future time to entail mischievous consequence. All this, and more of a like nature, are undeniably true. But it does not necessarily determine anything as to the *right* belonging to such State. For aught that appears, it may have been known beforehand, and it may too, or may not, have been considered beforehand, that such State joined the confederacy with a contemplated benefit thereto, these damaging contingencies being included in the act as also possible, and yet their existence not of sufficient force to countervail, upon the whole, the policy of admission. It may have seemed desirable that there should be at hand some penalty, of easy and sure application, to render such withdrawal difficult or impossible; but upon its appearing that this could not be had, or was only to be had upon such terms as to destroy, or greatly impair the very spirit and design of the confederacy, then there was nothing in the nature of things, to forbid a final acceptance of the mere *voluntary* arrangement, attended, though it confessedly was, with certain very considerable disadvantages, and for several reasons open to objections.

But we are admonished to bring our remarks to a close. If, as has been said by high authority, men are deterred from crime by the certainty of punishment, rather than by its severity, then the converse of the proposition ought to be true, and men should be incited to effort by the certainty of reward, rather than by its magnitude. We fear this is not, in a majority of instances, found to be the fact, whence it would seem that men are more logical where their fears are addressed than where their hopes are appealed to; to avoid which detrimental conclusion, our adversaries may suggest that the entire converse of the proposition requires that the predicates be transposed, so as to read, men ought to be incited to effort by the magnitude of the reward, rather than by its certainty. Whether or not this latter arrangement comply but with grammatical rule, we think it will be generally admitted to accord best with fact—a dazzling, magnificent prize, whose attainment is only a remote possibility, furnishing an incentive to effort, quite beyond the humble trifle of easy acquisition. That very many of the reformatory schemes of the day bear testimony to the truth of this assertion is but two painfully evident, but not so evident is it, how from the reiterated failure of such schemes, sooner or later disclosed, is begotten a skepticism which, resting in its origin upon lawful basis, shall extend itself to fields of activity where no similar extravagancies forbid a full and tranquil faith—fields, too, whose humble fruits the world could ill afford to exchange for any gifts she is likely to receive at the hands of Quixotic knight-errants or Utopian dreamers. We have heard expressions such as this—"Blessed be nothing," called forth, we suppose, by some unwonted conviction of the instability of earthly good. Our instincts as to what is desirable in theories of reform go not quite so far as that, but could we be permitted to hear this appropriate ejaculation, "Blessed be little," we should feel an assurance to which we have been long strangers, that the rule hitherto confined to the counting-room, which says, "Many a little makes a mickle," was about to be transferred to the economies of moral advancement and social elevation, with promise of happier results—no more apples of Sodom or fruits of Gomorrah—when we ask for a

fish, no longer a serpent—no longer a stone when we ask for bread.

To suppose no objections likely to arise to the foregoing views—views that consistently with truth might have been—nay, to be consistent with truth, possibly should have been—more guardedly stated, would be to admit the futility of the entire discussion; for this pre-supposes the existence of an excessive, unreasoning sentimentality, which busies itself not with impertinent questions as to what is practicable, but rather roams at large into whatever flowery field invites its entrance—dry and dusty highway, within whose straight and narrow bounds logic holds her solitary and undeviating course, neither to its taste or to its understanding, if we may suppose such last to belong to it. But such objections must find room for answer elsewhere.

ART. IX—*Speeches, Articles in Newspapers, Conventions, etc., etc.* 1872.

WE have no intention of dilating, at this time, on the respective characteristics of our candidates, whether their ambition is to be chief magistrate of the nation at large, or only chief magistrate of the city of New York. The newspapers have been doing so for months. Scarcely the most indifferent thing, good or bad, has been done by the most prominent, from boyhood up to the present moment, which has not been presented to the public in a thousand forms; nay, a great many things, good and bad, they have never done, have been proclaimed and placarded with equal zeal, and our readers know that it is not our habit to occupy our pages in telling them what they know already but too well.

Of the respective merits and demerits of our presidential candidates we gave our impressions in full in our last num-

ber.* If our views have undergone any change during the intervening three months, it consists in a still deeper conviction than we had in June last of the immense superiority of Mr. Greeley's qualifications, both intellectual and moral, to those of his opponent. Those in the habit of reading this journal, regularly, need not be informed that we have no prejudice against General Grant as a military man. Far from objecting to him on this ground, we showed, four years ago, that the greatest military chieftains of ancient and modern times—including Cyrus, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon—have also proved the greatest statesmen.† Accordingly, bearing in mind what General Grant had done for his country, in contributing so much to suppress the rebellion, none were more earnestly in favor of his election than we.

But we had several notions then in regard to him, all of which have proved sadly erroneous. One supposition of ours was that he was an educated man; another, that he was above taking bribes; another, that he was incapable of thrusting the most stupid of his relatives into important lucrative offices, without any regard to their fitness, or want of fitness; and we might add several other things without joining those who accuse General Grant of gross intemperance, and ask which of our suppositions has he not proved, by his conduct as President of the United States, to be utterly unfounded. As to the military part of his character, that, we repeat, is no argument against his fitness for the exalted office which he now holds, and which it is his ambition to hold as long as possible.

Nor do we concur with those who make a particular grievance of the fact that he has appointed to office so many military men. Is it a grievance, for example, that he appointed General Belknap to one of the most important offices of the republic? Is it not rather a grievance that he did not place some general, equally capable as a thinker and statesman, at the head of the Treasury Department, or the State Depart-

*Art. "Grant and Greeley."

† *Vide* No. XXXIV. N. Q. R., Art. "Our Presidential Candidates."

ment? Is it not true that General Belknap has done more for science, and for the advancement of civilization than all the other members of General Grant's cabinet put together—more than a score of timid, vacillating, quibbling, blundering, stock-jobbing Boutwells and Fishes?

And if we compare the subordinate officers of General Belknap to those of the mere politicians of the cabinet, we shall find the former characterized by a corresponding superiority, whether those subordinates discharge their duties at Washington, Boston, Philadelphia, or New York. In illustration of this, we need only ask which of our federal officers in New York has discharged his duties more intelligently, more efficiently, or more honorably than General Rufus Ingalls?

That it is not on political grounds we oppose General Grant, and urge the superior qualifications of Mr. Greeley, is sufficiently proved by the fact that, in the same spirit in which we advocated the election of the former, four years ago, we now advocate the election of General Dix to the governorship of New York. There is, however, this important difference: our views of the qualifications of General Grant were, as we have shown, but suppositions, whereas the qualifications of General Dix are recognized as of the highest order, even by his opponents.. In short, no one questions for a moment, either the ability or the integrity of General Dix, for the reason that he is one of the very few that have filled several important offices with unsullied honor. Accordingly he is not the less our choice for being a general; he is not the less our choice for being a Republican; nay, he is not the less our choice for being a zealous advocate of the re-election of General Grant.

What we oppose Grant for, then, is his utter lack of administrative ability, his deplorable ignorance, his insatiable avarice, his low, vulgar habits, and above all—or, rather, below all—his ineffable meanness and dishonesty in making merchandise, for the aggrandizement of himself and his relatives, of the powers and privileges conferred upon him by a grateful and generous people.

Upon the other hand, we urge the election of Mr. Greeley

because, during a quarter of a century, he has given ample proof of a high order of administrative ability; and because even his enemies cannot charge him with ignorance, avarice, low or degrading habits, much less with dishonesty. There are other men whom we should have preferred for the presidency to Mr. Greeley; we should have preferred Mr. O'Conor, or Mr. Sumner. By this, however, we mean no reflection on the qualifications or claims of Mr. Greeley; but different as O'Conor and Sumner are, and always have been, from each other, it would be difficult to find two such public men in any country. However, they are out of the question in this case, since neither is a candidate. We have to choose between two—between Grant and Greeley; between ignorance and intelligence; between those qualities which man possesses in common with the brute, and those which he possesses in common with his Creator; between low, demoralizing habits and habits which purify and elevate the soul; in a word, between proverbial, unswerving honesty, and proverbial, unscrupulous dishonesty. To this we need only add the simple query—which are the qualities and qualifications that a great, enlightened, and thoughtful people like ours should prefer in their chief magistrate?

Turning from our candidates for the presidency, we will briefly consider the relative claims of our candidates for the mayoralty. We shall observe this brevity, not because the office of mayor of this great city is not an important one, for, in our estimation, there are few offices more important; but because there can be but little difference of opinion among sensible, thinking men acquainted with the history of New York during the last ten years, as to which of the three candidates, now understood to be in the field, is best qualified by experience as a public officer, which possesses most administrative ability, and which has given the strongest and most unequivocal proof of honesty and integrity.

For ought we know, Mr. Havemeyer is an honest man; we believe he means well. This is but slender praise, but what better can we say of him? True, we can call him "a tried man;" he has been tried as mayor, but what was the result

of the trial? We have never heard any impartial, competent judge assert that he proved an efficient mayor. As chairman of the Committee of Seventy he, no doubt, did his best for reform; but, unfortunately, his best amounted to little. Such as it was, however, he seeks to be rewarded for it. Nobody supposes for a moment that he would have put himself forward as a candidate at this time had he not belonged to that committee. We do not reproach him for this; we merely remark, that to have been an indifferent mayor several years ago, and an indifferent chairman of a reform committee one year ago, or less, are not sufficient reasons to expect that he would prove anything more or better than an indifferent mayor, if elected now.

But he would be a Solon and a Lycurgus combined, if that were possible, compared to Andrew H. Green. No one who has given any intelligent attention to the course of Mr. Green as comptroller, can conscientiously say, either that he is an honest man, or that he means well. The people of New York may justly be ranked among the most short-sighted and credulous of civilized communities if they cannot see, that all along, this man has been in collusion with his old friends, the worst members of the Ring. The opposition of Mayor Hall to his appointment by Connolly was merely designed to throw dust in the people's eyes. If Hall had not the perception himself to understand, from what he knew of Green, that nobody had anything to fear from him as a "reformer," his friend Sweeny soon satisfied him on that point. "Why," says Sweeny, "Andy is just the man we want. True, he hasn't a particle of brains; but he will say, or, if necessary, swear, anything which the circumstances may require." This may seem unduly harsh on the part of Sweeny, but has not Green himself fully proved the justice of it? Who exerted himself more zealously than "Reformer" Green to defeat the Reform Charter? Who evinced a stronger disposition to bribe, as a lobbyist at Albany, all who would give him a hand to prolong his own power, and protect his old friends of the Ring?

Then, who has failed to observe his liberality to the Ring papers? His hostility to those that had attacked the Ring

has not been so apparent, though equally decided. Never, for example, have we heard any public man affect to despise and scorn the New York Times more than Green, even while that journal regarded and treated him as "an honest man." For our own part, he could never forgive us for our attack on his friend Sweeny, as the head of the Ring. But we have never said that Green was an honest man, or that he was in any manner qualified for the position he holds. The city of New York owes us about $5,000, for advertisements inserted in our journal during a period of two years, on the authority of the heads of different departments. Those whose character remains unsullied have cheerfully given us this authority in writing. We have often been told that if we would only join in the chorus in regard to Green's "honesty," we should not be one week without the money, and that except we "do him justice," we need never expect to get paid. Far be it from us to deny that a much smaller sum than the $5,000 we have honestly earned would be an object to us; but we should prefer to be without it forever rather than disgrace our pages by praising a man like Green. Accordingly, we place our claim in the hands of an eminent lawyer, and it remains to be seen whether the Ring is yet so powerful, with Green in collusion with Hall and Sweeny, as to prevent us from receiving what has remained due to us ever since the day upon which we—before all others—attacked the Ring, and were attacked by Mayor Hall in an extensive proclamation, at the expense of the city—his Honor maintaining that his colleagues were all high-minded, honorable men, and that, in attacking such, we could only have been actuated by the vilest motives! Until the day we attacked the ring-leader, no bills were paid more promptly than ours. It is true that all the bills we had furnished to the city government, during a period of twelve years, amounted to much less than our "reformer" has often paid to a Ring paper on the advertising bill of one week. Who has not seen in several papers such "notices" as the following: "The Hon. Andrew H. Green, our honest and able comptroller, delivered a neat speech yesterday," etc.; "That little speech delivered by our excellent comptroller on Saturday was in the right vein,"

etc., etc? Then those who watched the proceedings of the Board of Audit for the next week were pretty sure to learn that the paper which spoke so handsomely had its claim of $20,000, $15,000, or at least $10,000, "allowed and ordered to be paid" (!) Thus one is required to perpetrate a gross falsehood before he can expect to be paid what is lawfully due to him; but if he will perpetrate the falsehood in a sufficiently barefaced manner, then, whether the money be lawfully, or morally, due or not, he has only to send his bill!

True, there is another means of making Green very gentle and very prompt. If an editor will not stultify himself by saying that a person who could not put three sentences of correct English together if his life were depending on the effort can deliver a "neat speech," let him call on Green, with an indignant air, tell him plainly that he has lied to him on sundry occasions, and that he is no gentleman; let him finally hint, however darkly or vaguely, at pistols for two, then he may calculate pretty safely that his claim will not remain long unpaid!

Those who do not know Green may well regard this as incredible, but we can bear ocular testimony to at least one illustration of it. We shall never forget a scene we witnessed at the comptroller's office one day we went to speak about our claim. In a certain corner we saw a group of bright, intelligent faces. Seeming to us a little ominous—for there was a general feeling of indignation, but ill concealed by several—we inquired of one of the clerks who the parties were, and were informed that they were a deputation of editors waiting to see Comptroller Green. After some time, that worthy functionary made his appearance, and his worst enemy could hardly wish to see him in a more pitiable, or more ridiculous plight. One after another, about a dozen addressed him, while his countenance and whole bearing were like those of an old lady whose premises had been suddenly invaded by an ox reputed in the neighborhood to belong to "the dangerous class." Poor Green really shook like an aspen leaf, but his fright did not reach its climax until he was addressed by a little man with a wooden leg, but a fiery eye, and voluble, epigrammatic tongue. Without

being at all excited, the editor on one leg told Mr. Green, in the plainest terms, but without using any ungentlemanly language—if such can be said to be possible in such a case—that while he squandered the city money on certain editors who praised him, honest, independent editors who would not pander to his vanity had nothing to expect from him but false promises! He mentioned one editor—a veteran, who was absent—as an illustration, adding that no gentleman would have treated him as Green did.

The "speech" made by our comptroller in reply to all this, reminded us of no orators more forcibly than of the negro minstrels in their burlesques; especially that part of it in which the worthy "reformer" humbly begged pardon for the alleged insult he had given, and promised that the claims of the editorial deputation should receive early attention. For once in his life Green kept his word, for at the very next meeting of the Board of Audit the claim of the little man with the wooden leg, amounting to some $9,000, was "allowed and ordered to be paid!"

Our poet, who is as familiar with the character of Green as we are ourselves, happening to have witnessed with us the above scene, penned some lines on reading the righteous decision of the Board of Audit. As some of our readers may be curious to know whether those lines contain more truth than poetry, we transcribe an extract at the bottom of the page, only premising that it seems to us the element of truth largely predominates.*

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* MONODY:

Inscribed to ANDREW H. GREEN, *Reformer, Truth-teller, etc., etc.*
By the Poet of the *National Quarterly Review.*

Nor thief, nor Thug is Andy Green,
But a "reformer" true I ween!
One of that lib'ral, gen'rous stuff
That pays ten thousand for a puff!
And, what is still more strange and funny,
Without a puff he'll pay no money!
Unless invited out to shoot,
Or threaten'd with an angry boot.
Though threat'ner, then, have but one leg,
His pardon he will humbly beg!

Our Andy Green can make a speech
As fine as any owl can screech;
And with as much contempt of grammar
As parrot, goose, or yellowhammer!
He's an accomplish'd lobbyman,
Oakey's best chum at cat in pan—
As ready as any of his tribe
To give or take a little bribe;
Or with our legislators barter
'Gainst any honest bill or charter!

Be this as it may, several of the Ring papers praised the comptroller's "speech," and bestowed particular admiration on its "dignity and manliness"(!) True, other papers, including the Herald as well as the Times, thought the performance alluded to was rather destitute of those qualities. But the best thing we have seen in relation to the editorial deputation and its result is from a Teutonic source. Happening to take up one of our German papers a few mornings after the great "reformer" had behaved in so handsome a manner, we found an account of the affair, the spirit of which may be sufficiently inferred from the fact that it closed with an extract from a well-known German poem, entitled *Des Esels Trost* (The Ass's Consolation). We subjoin here the same passage, and, for the benefit of those unacquainted with the German, we give an almost literal translation at the bottom of the page:

"Hab' Nichts, mich dran zu freuen,
Bin dumm und ungestalt,
Ohne Muth und ohne Gewalt;
Mein spotten und mich scheuen
Die Menschen jung und alt;
Bin weder warm noch kalt!
* * * * * *
Ach die Natur schuf mich im Grimme,
Sie gab mir nichts—als eine schöne Stimme!" *

We feel it all the more incumbent on us to do this, because Mr. Green boasts that the admiration of our German fellow-citizens for his incorruptible honesty, his statesmanlike abilities, his profound knowledge of political economy, etc., is boundless. Leaving our readers to judge how well, or how ill, these qualities are represented in the above lines, and how appropriate or inappropriate is the illustration used by our Ger-

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* "I'm joyless and forlorn,
Am dull, deformed, and rude,
Nor yet with strength imbued;
At me, with hate and scorn,
Rail both the young and old;
My heart, nor warm nor cold!
* * * * * *
My portrait in a rage did Nature draw,
And gave me only a sweet voice — 'he-haw!'"

man contemporary, we take leave of Mr. Green for the present, and turn our attention to his chief opponent as a candidate for the mayoralty.

Of the qualifications and claims of Senator O'Brien little need be said. None can charge him with collusion with the Ring. Far from betraying any sympathy with the robbers, it is undeniable that no public man took an earlier or more active, earnest part in exposing them. Those whom O'Brien sympathised with were the earliest denouncers of the Ring. We well remember meeting him in the Central Park two or three days after Mayor Hall had, by his advertised proclamation, set all the Ring papers to abuse us. "You must ride somewhere else on your gray," said Mr. O'Brien, jestingly. "You have no business here. Neither the mayor nor the president of Public Parks will any longer allow you to prowl about on so precious a part of the domain of Tammany!" In short, Mr. O'Brien manifested to us the same kind, friendly feeling that Colonel Stebbins did in common with so many other good men and women. The Colonel had scarcely been ten days in Sweeny's place when he politely and kindly offered to present, in person, to the Board of Audit, our claim for having advertised the Central Park ordinances two years previously, and to recommend its payment as an honest, well-founded claim, although Sweeny and Hall had refused to pay it, because, since the advertisements had been authorized by the former, we had incurred the high displeasure of those illustrious personages. That Colonel Stebbins is a gentleman of the highest sense of honor, and one to whom the citizens of New York are deeply indebted for what he has done for the Central Park, none acquainted with the facts will deny. But precisely because he is incapable of any collusion with malefactors, as soon as he ascertained that, while Green made such loud pretensions to honesty, integrity, etc., he was really in league with Hall and Sweeny, he resigned the presidency of the Board of Public Parks. In short, Colonel Stebbins is too proud a man—he has too much self-respect—to be the colleague of such persons as Hall and Green; and, consequently, not a penny have we received to this day of what is due to us by the Central Park Com-

missioners, or by any other commissioners over whom Hall and Green have any control! We refer to the good wishes of this gentleman, in speaking of our candidates, because Senator O'Brien has used language to us exactly similar to that of Colonel Stebbins. "I will see," says O'Brien, "that, at all events, you will not be cheated out of the payment of the advertisements ordered by me. Have your bill sent to my office any day, and I will certify it. Then let Green keep the money from you to please Hall and Sweeny if he can!" And, most unlike Green, the word of O'Brien can be relied upon.

We have mentioned these circumstances, only because we hold that no testimony, as to the worth or worthlessness of any man, public or private, is more valuable than that which is the result of personal experience and observation. We will vote for O'Brien, and we respectfully, but earnestly, urge our readers to do the same; not, we trust, because he has been polite and friendly to ourselves, but because we have seen various convincing evidences of his being a straightforward, unpretending, honest man, and a faithful, unswerving public officer.

So far as we are aware, there is but one other candidate for an important office whose election we could urge as a public benefit. This one is Gunning S. Bedford, our present City Judge — a gentleman who, it is universally acknowledged, would do honor, by his uprightness, integrity and fearlessness, to the judicial bench of any country in the world. Had Bedford been like Dowling the illiterate, unprincipled tool of the Ring, who would do anything, however base, at the bidding of Sweeny, no citizen who dared to find fault with that personage or his accomplices would have been safe for a day while the sceptre of the robbers remained unbroken. In short, no judge who has ever passed sentence in New York has, on all occasions, acted in such strict accordance with the well known precept—

> "Judicis officium est, tu res ita tempora rerum
> Quærere." *

* *Tristitia*, i., 1., 37.

—of the Roman poet who, above all others, had most reason to feel the loss of a just judge who could protect him from the persecution of the tyrant whose displeasure he had incurred.

This being our estimate of Judge Bedford, we need hardly say how glad we are to see that good citizens of all parties and denominations are combining their efforts to secure his election. As an illustration of the laudable feeling thus manifested, we take pleasure in copying from a morning paper the following resolutions adopted by a meeting of citizens of the Fourth Ward:

"*Whereas*, The friends of Judge Gunning S. Bedford are forming clubs in every ward of this city to further his election; be it hereby

"*Resolved*, That in Gunning S. Bedford, our present City Judge, we recognize a fearless and upright man—one who, unintimidated by threats and malevolence of the depraved and vicious, throws around the humblest as well as the wealthy the protection of the law; who, in his administration of justice, knows no distinction that can tempt him to swerve from what he deems to be his honest duty to the citizens; who, while ever prompt to punish crime, forgets not that mercy which belongs to his kind and generous heart.

"*Resolved*, That we here, in testimony of his unimpeachable character, pledge ourselves to his support for a renomination and re-election; and we hope, in view of his long and commendable services in the interests of the people of our city, that he may again be chosen for the distinguished position he has so faithfully filled to the satisfaction of every pure and honest-minded man in the community."

Our candidates, then, are: for President of the United States, Horace Greeley; for Governor of the State of New York, John A. Dix; for Mayor of New York, James O'Brien; and for New York City Judge, Gunning S. Bedford. In earnestly urging the election of each of these four men, without distinction of political or religious creed, we feel that we act in faithful accordance with the Sallustian motto on our title page, which requires that our best efforts as a public writer be devoted to the public good.

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

EDUCATION.

The American Elocutionist and Dramatic Reader. For the use of Colleges, Academies and Schools. By JOSEPH A. LYONS, A.M. *With an Elaborate Introduction on Elocution and Vocal Culture.* By the REV. M. B. BROWN, A. M., Professor of Theology and Moral Philosophy in the University of Notre Dame. Pp. 430. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. 1872. (*Second Notice.*)

WE have received so many letters in reference to this book since we criticised it in our March number, from ladies as well as gentlemen, for whose opinion we have the highest respect, that, in compliance with the request of several, we would have had a second article on it in our June number had we not been prevented by illness. That this is no mere excuse for the omission our esteemed correspondents may see by turning to page 208 of our last issue, in which we apologize for having been obliged, by the same inability, to omit our usual Appendix. But a still better proof of our entire willingness to be as just and fair as possible, will be found in the fact that we now return to the subject, and allow one of the gentlemen who feel chiefly aggrieved, to state to our readers what the nature of his grievance is, so that they may blame us if they think we have deserved blame. No one who complains to us in the language of courtesy and good-will need fear that he does so in vain through any pretension, on our part, to infallibility. Accordingly, we cheerfully give a place to the following well-written letter, which speaks for itself:

"NOTRE DAME, IND., April 13, 1872.

"DEAR SIR—As you bring my name somewhat prominently before the public in your criticism of the book entitled 'The American Elocutionist,' you would do me a favor by giving, in your next issue, your candid views of that part of the book in which alone I am personally interested; namely, the treatise on Elocution and Voice Culture, which bears my name. As your criticism now stands, the reader is led to believe that you condemn the *entire* work, and yet, from the opinion given of my part of it, by several persons who are considered good judges, and to whom I showed that treatise before delivering it to Prof. Lyons, and from the commendations which it received since its publication, I am led to believe that it does not deserve a wholesale condemnation.

"I am not so vain as to suppose that my essay (for such it really is) is perfect, and free from faults; nor do I object to a straightforward, honest criticism, even though it be severe. But it seems to me that candor requires that the critic point

out the good points (if any) as well as the bad, in the work which he reviews, or, at least, that he give some satisfactory reasons for a condemnation *in toto*, should he think the work deserving of such. You will pardon me if I say that, in my opinion, you have not complied with this requirement, and apparently, at least, condemn the book as a whole, while you give your reasons only for your condemnation of some of the selections, involving me in that condemnation, intentionally or not, though I am concerned only with that part which bears my name.

"That I am a writer unknown to the public, generally, should not be a sufficient ground for condemning utterly what I write, without regard to the merits or demerits of the production itself. Yet it is not clear from your article whether or not you intended specially to include my part of the work in the condemnation which you pronounce upon the book itself. Hence I would deem it a favor if you would let your readers know the true state of the case by giving your honest opinion of the Introduction on Elocution and Voice Culture, whether that opinion be favorable or not. What I have done is done, and I shall not sleep the less soundly should my efforts meet with a cold reception. So much for my philosophy.

"Yours, respectfully,

"M. B. BROWN."

We have but a remark or two to make in reply to the Rev. Father Brown. As we told him nearly six months ago, in answering his polite letter, we do not think that if we attempt to give a sketch of a house for the purpose of indicating its general character, as compared to other houses, we are bound by any law, moral or aesthetical, to give a particular description, or in fact any description, of the vestibule. If the house, as a whole, be a vulgar structure, the fact that it has a handsome well built vestibule cannot make it a classic or elegant structure.

We did not condemn the Introduction of Father Brown, nor did we mean to do any thing of the kind. To have examined it with sufficient care and given our impressions of it would have required more time and space than it was possible for us to devote to the whole book, with so many other books also claiming our attention at the same time. Even now we can only speak in general terms of Prof. Brown's part of the work; but far from condemning it, we regard it as a learned and valuable essay on a most important subject—a subject to which none who have any faith in the power of language can be indifferent.

And of the drama of the Rev. A. Lemonnier, we spoke exactly in the same spirit as we did of Father Brown's Introduction. We did not know who the former gentleman was; but the only fault we found with his drama was, that we regarded a piece extending to forty-two pages as too long a selection for a duodecimo volume. Had one of equal length been taken from the best drama of Sheridan or Bulwer

we would have censured the compiler for not giving more variety. Accordingly, had our opinion of "The Recognition" been asked at any time during the last six months, most cheerfully would we have admitted that it is a piece of considerable merit, and well adapted for representation in colleges and academies for the amusement and instruction of the students.

Other ladies and gentlemen, whom we regard as highly competent to form an intelligent and honest opinion on the subject, have written to assure us, that we were mistaken in a remark or two we made, incidentally, in the same critique, in reference to the standard of education at Notre Dame University. We are sincerely glad to receive this assurance from so reliable a source, for, as our readers may remember, that years ago we entertained a high opinion of that institution. Indeed, our only reason for having changed our mind in this respect, was our utter lack of confidence in Father Corbin as President of the University. As for the Very Rev. Superior General who founded the institution, we have never lost confidence in him; even in the critique which caused so much complaint we spoke of the good and learned father only as "*a gentleman whose connection with any institution would give it a favorable prestige.*" We were led to form this opinion of the Very Rev. Dr. Sorin several years ago, on learning that no educator acts in more strict accordance with the precept of Duclos—"Qu' on forme d'abord les hommes à la pratique des vertus, on en aura d'autut plus de facilité à leur demontrer les principes, s'il en est besoin." *

Now, when our readers learn that Father Corbin is no longer President; that he has been removed altogether from the University to take charge of a small place in Wisconsin; that Rev. A. Lemonnier, author of "The Recognition"—the gentleman whom, without knowing anything about him further than we learned from that drama, we compared to the learned and gifted Father Prout—has been appointed President in his stead; and that the learned and good Father-General is now more closely connected with the college than he had been for years—we think they will admit that we did not blunder very much after all when we made those slight criticisms in our March number. Be this as it may, we certainly anticipate a brilliant career for the University under its new management.

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* "*Considerations sur les Moeurs.*" Par Duclos. Chap. 11.

The Comprehensive Speaker. Designed for the Use of Schools, Academies, Lyceums, etc. Carefully selected from the Best Authors, with Notes. By HENRY T. COATES. 12mo, pp. 672. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

THERE is quite a mania, just now, for manufacturing "Speakers," "Readers," etc. We shall seem to indulge in exaggeration when we say that a full dozen of that class of performances have reached our table since we issued our last number; but we can easily convince the skeptical on that point. That now before us is the largest of all; and, we may add, that it is the most pretentious.

The preface of a book like this affords a very good test of the qualifications of the compiler as an intellectual caterer. One who cannot put together a half dozen sentences without rendering himself ridiculous can hardly be expected to be a competent judge as to what is best calculated to cultivate the taste, or form the style of the students of "schools, academies, and lyceums." Unhappily, we have before us a case in point. We say "unhappily," because, although there are very few who are criticised but are ready to prove "it is all spite," we really take no pleasure in fault-finding, beyond that of doing good. If we thought we could do an equal amount of good by bestowing praise, we certainly would not hesitate for a moment to choose the latter.

But we will let Mr. Coates speak both for himself and us. He starts with the following piece of information: "The compiler of this volume is aware of the *existence already* of a number of good selections for speaking; but his *position* as a publisher *has made him sure of the want* of a more comprehensive and recent collection, one which," etc., etc. The whole sentence is a little too "comprehensive" for our space; but we have given sufficient of it to show how full of modest confidence Mr. Coates is, in his "position." Why do not all the Philadelphia publishers compile "Speakers" for the same reason? We shall not delay our readers by attempting to answer this question, but allow our compiler to proceed. "In the present collection," he continues, "adapted to supply the wants of *advanced scholars*, a *very critical taste* has been exercised," etc. It will be seen, in due time, how "advanced" the "scholars" are for the supplying of whose wants the work is "adapted," and how "very critical" is the "taste" of Mr. Coates. But let us hear our Aristarchus: "Shortly after commencing the work, the *extreme inaccuracy* of quotation and punctuation *in all the other Speakers* was made manifest," etc. That is, all other compilers

had "just enough of learning to misquote!" Mr. Coates is the only one equal to the effort of quoting correctly, and, of course, it follows that his "Comprehensive Speaker" is the only good Speaker! Referring to the student, to the teacher, or to J. E. Carpenter of London—we cannot tell which—our compiler gives the following advice, and something else:

"Let him remember that 'what is worth doing, is worth doing well;' and in no instance is this proverb more true and applicable than *in the art of oratory*, or seizing hold of men's minds, or feelings. For much valuable assistance in *its compilation* we are indebted to Mr. Frederick W. Beasley, M. A., of the Protestant Episcopal Academy of Philadelphia."

"The art of oratory," according to Mr. Coates, is worth doing well; accordingly, he has *done* it remarkably well! We doubt, however, whether there is any danger of his "seizing hold" of the "minds or feelings" of our readers. But who will tell us what "*its* compilation" refers to? Is it in the compilation of the proverb, or in the compilation of the art of oratory that Mr. Beasley has given so "much valuable assistance?" To be charitable, we may suppose that Mr. Coates means the compilation of the "Comprehensive Speaker," but unrivalled as that work is, it is not mentioned either in the sentence in which the "valuable assistance" is acknowledged, or in the preceding sentence; and it requires no very extensive knowledge of the grammar of our language to know that "*its*" cannot be properly referred to a distant antecedent while other antecedents intervene. But taking the charitable view of the case, we must say that if the assistance of Mr. Beasley has been so valuable, it would have been a good deal more so, had he corrected both the grammar and the common sense of the compiler. Now let us turn for a moment to the "Introduction," which it is admitted is chiefly borrowed. Under the head of "Useful Hints," we find the following:

"The careless or ignorant speaker will often trip in the following words, which are vulgarisms to be specially avoided; viz., fell*er* for fellow—wind*er* for window—*lor* for law—*sor* for saw—*voi*let for violet—*voi*lent for violent—*moi* for my—as well as using an aspirate in an improper place, as *hair* for air—*hoil* for oil, etc."

It seems that "advanced scholars" require to be told that they should not pronounce fellow, *feller;* my, *moi;* saw, *sor*, etc. Then such "Notes" as Mr. Coates furnishes to "schools, academies and lyceums!"

Of the selections given by our compiler, it is needless to speak.

Taking up, as he has done, a number of other "Speakers" to paste some of their contents on his own blank pages, sadly defective as he tells us *all* those Speakers are, it would have been impossible for him to fill so thick a volume without giving some excellent pieces. Accordingly there are such; but in those instances in which Mr. Coates has only consulted his own "very critical taste" there is very little more than vulgar puffery of a certain class of authors and orators who are so fortunate or unfortunate as to be numbered among his favorites; and the chief object of the "Notes" seems to be to show how well deserved this puffery is! As we have occupied so much of our readers' time and our own with the "Comprehensive Speaker," we shall not take our leave without suggesting the following motto for the new edition—which, for obvious reasons, can hardly fail to be issued—as in our opinion very appropriate:

Non sua Minervam, ut ajunt.

Riverview Military Academy; a Classical, Commercial and Military Boarding School. Riverview, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. OTIS BISBEE, A. M., Principal and Proprietor. 24mo., pp. 29.

IN this tiny *brochure* we have a record of much good work, faithfully performed; although no boasting—no extravagant promises. Its contents are, indeed, such as we should expect from a man of culture who thoroughly understands one of the noblest of vocations. We have known Prof. Bisbee as an educator for many years, and we have never heard himself or his school spoken of otherwise than in the highest terms. His system of education—combining, as it does, the study of the classic and modern languages with that of the sciences, music, and the military art—has often reminded us of those ancient schools which produced such pupils as Pericles, Sophocles, Xenophon, Julius Cæsar, and Scipio Africanus. We make this remark as a matter of simple justice, and for the purpose of removing an absurd prejudice; because there are many well-meaning people who, while capable of reasoning intelligently and correctly on other subjects, think that the study of the military art is detrimental to other studies. There is not one of the illustrious men just mentioned who was not subjected to the discipline of a soldier in his boyhood, and obliged to

tudy the art of war as it was known in his time; but was Pericles, Xenophon, or Julius Cæsar the less highly cultivated in intellect, or did ıe possess the less intellectual ability on this account? Nor was there ıne of the same soldier-thinkers who was not also distinguished for re-inement and elegance of manners; so that it is to such men and such esults Ovid is said to have alluded when he wrote, that "to be im-ıued with the liberal arts refines the manners and makes men mild ınd gentle in their conduct."

> Adde, quod ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,
> Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.*

Indeed, the history of our own West Point would abundantly prove this; for if, unhappily, there are men who, like General Grant, are vulgar and coarse in their manners, in spite of the refining influences of that institution, it is because they were students only in name—at best, students only of the military art *per se*.

But we must do ourselves the pleasure of extracting a passage or two from the neat *brochure* before us. The following paragraphs will interest many who travel on the Hudson, and along its banks, for we have often been asked ourselves, "What fine institution is that?"

"The building is a large brick structure, occupying an elevation on the east bank of the Hudson river, and very distinctly seen from the passing cars and boats. It embraces many conveniences adapted to the wants of a first-class boarding-school, such as are not found in most other similar institutions. It is most thoroughly ventilated, and heated by steam throughout; water is accessible on every floor, and the room of each pupil is as pleasant as it could be at home. The views are delightful in every direction, and the place is pre-eminently healthy.

"The river, with its numerous attractions, lies below, stretching many miles in sight. The Highlands rise into prominence on the south, while to the north, forty miles away, is distinctly seen the Catskill Mountain House. Eastward, the city of Poughkeepsie lies mostly in view, and in the immediate vicinity is the most cultivated portion, adorned with park and fountain. Opportunities for bathing, rowing and skating are ample. The extent of the play-grounds allows, also, the recreation of the ordinary games and sports of school-boys."

Referring to the discipline maintained at Riverview, Mr. Bisbee proceeds:

"Boys, it may be conceded without disparagement, are not usually settled in their habits, and such as are not bad may be led into improper associations and

* *Ep. ex Pont.* ii., 9, 47.

practices. Hence, it will not do to infer from good home conduct that in school a boy will be necessarily correct without restraint.

"With these views, the Principal feels constrained to insist that it is his business, not only to see that his pupils are diligent in study and docile in school, but to keep himself informed, as much as possible, of their outside associations, to correct and restrain evil tendencies, and, in short, to deal with them as a wise parent should deal with his sons. In this relation he would not do justice to his own feelings should he not insist likewise that it is his privilege and duty to recommend and impress on the minds of his pupils the precepts of morality and religion contained in the Bible, and to endeavor to inculcate Christian virtues."

Limited as our space is in this department, we cheerfully make room for another passage, hoping that certain other institutions we have deemed it our duty to censure, on more than one occasion, for their injudicious indulgence to their students, may be induced to imitate the good examples thus set by Mr. Bisbee:

"It must be understood by every pupil who enters this school, that he is under obligation not to use profane or vulgar language, *not to smoke or chew tobacco, nor use intoxicating liquors of any kind* while a member, and that no one who continues to offend in these particulars can be allowed to remain in the school.

"The reading of dime novels and other pestilent literature is prohibited. Such books are unhesitatingly burned whenever found."

If, as we have said, there is nothing in the study of the military art which is in the slightest degree antagonistic to the study of either the languages or the sciences, certain it is that the same cannot be said of smoking or chewing tobacco, using intoxicating liquors, or reading the worthless, vitiating sort of literature known as dime novels.

A Grammar of the Greek Language. By Dr. GEORGE CURTIUS, Professor in the University of Leipzig. Translated under the revision of the author. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D., Classical Examiner in the University of London, and Editor of the Classical and Latin Dictionaries. For the use of colleges and high schools. 12mo., pp. 369. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1872.

The work of Dr. Curtius is so well known to scholars in America as well as in Europe, if only, in many instances, for the fame it has

brought its author, that it is needless to give any elaborate analysis of its contents, since such would be of little use to any except scholars. This is fortunate in the present case, as the book did not reach our table until we were preparing for the press the last sheets of our present number. But it is one of the few an examination of which to us would be a most agreeable intellectual repast. We yield to none in our admiration of the structure of the Greek language, not to mention the incalculable value of Greek literature; and no other modern author has done so much justice to that structure as the worthy emulator, in philological research, of Humboldt, Bopp, and Grimm.

Our readers know that it is nothing new on our part to say that, not only art of a high order, but also science, is exhibited in the construction of the Greek. Before this Grammar had been written we had maintained that the noblest specimens of Greek sculpture which have survived the ravages of time, are not more exquisitely beautiful in outline than this Greek tongue, which so many of our modern philosophers think ought no longer to be studied! The Latin is, indeed, well calculated to develop the taste of the student of it, for the beautiful in nature, as well as in art, by its admirable word-painting; its declensions and its conjugations; but it is nearly as inferior in that respect to the language of Homer and Sophocles as our own composite patched up dialect is to the language of Virgil and Juvenal. The cause of the difference is well explained by Dr. Curtius. "The Greeks," he says, "are justly called an artistic people, and the Greek language is the most ancient work of art which they have reared upon a very primitive basis. The student who approaches the Greek," he adds, "after he has already gone through a considerable preparation by the study of Latin, ought to be impressed with the idea that the structure of this language is *one of the most marvellous productions of the intellectual powers* acting unconsciously."

Had Dr. Curtius been unknown in this country, as one of the most zealous and successful cultivators of the science of language, the fact that the editor of the English edition of his work is Dr. William Smith, the editor of several classical works for which the students and teachers of America, as well as those of the United Kingdom, are so much indebted—would have been a sufficient guarantee for its superior excellence. There is no student, or educator, whose vernacular is the English, who has not much faith in the opinion of Dr. Smith on any subject relating to the study of the classic languages. And,

speaking of the peculiar value of the work before us, Dr. Smith says: "It is, indeed, almost the only grammar which exhibits the inflexions of the language in a really scientific form." Again: "It is surprising to find that many of the public and private schools in this country (England) continue to use grammars which ignore all the improvements and discoveries of modern philology."

Need we say that still more of the public and private schools in the United States continue to use such? Nay, how few of our colleges and universities do otherwise than "ignore all the improvements and discoveries of modern philology?" But these various facts cause us to regret all the more that Curtius's Greek Grammar did not reach us in time. However there are yet another reason or two why we should have been glad to examine it fully without having to keep it on our table for three months. No publishers have done so much for classical literature in this country as the Messrs. Harper. They have incurred an amount of expense in issuing standard works of reference for Latin and Greek students which would seem fabulous to many even of our readers if stated in round numbers, and which would have wholly deterred any other New York house, in view of the too well-known fact that the demand for such is by no means sufficient to render them remunerative pecuniarily.

The last reason we shall mention is, we trust, no less legitimate than any yet given; it is this: that eminent house has ever been friendly, liberal, and encouraging to our humble selves. For nearly twenty years their most valuable books have been courteously placed at our disposal for examination, without any dictation or condition. This remark will be the better understood when we say that we know no publishers who would not very gladly furnish copies of their best publications, if sure that they would be praised. Thus, for example, there was a time when the Messrs. Appleton used to send us their largest books in dozens, but the moment we make the slightest criticism all is changed in their case! Not only would these gentlemen do all they could to prevent us from examining their books on finding we had ventured to point out any serious defect in them, but once, at least, before we had any journal of our own, they did their utmost to prevent our having any employment as a critic.

Upon the other hand, our readers know that we have criticised books issued by the Harpers quite as often as they have set their imprint on such as were not worthy of it. For an instance of this, we need not go farther back than our number for March, 1871, in which we

elaborately criticised Dio Lewis' book, entitled "Our Girls," under the head of "Specimen of a Modern Educator of Young Ladies." To this day, the Messrs. Harper have never evinced to us the slightest displeasure on account of that criticism, or the slightest unwillingness to send their books for examination as usual. Since such is our experience of publishers who address larger audiences through their own various periodicals than any other publishers in the world, it will be admitted that we should be wanting in sensibility, and unworthy of the courteous and generous treatment we have received, did we not feel it incumbent on us to do justice to such publications of theirs as this excellent and truly unequalled Grammar.

Among the many advantages which render it superior to all other Grammars now in use in this country are its two copious alphabetical indexes, English and Greek, which extend to eighteen three-column pages, in small type. These indexes, admirably arranged as they are, greatly facilitate the labors of the student. Not only may they be regarded as the keys to a fountain of philological knowledge, but, in the hands of those capable of using them, they are a veritable fountain in themselves.

Boys of Eaglewood; or, Life at School. By CLARA F. GUERNSEY. Author of "The Silver Cup," "The Leighton Children," etc., etc. 16mo., pp. 406. Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union.

IF requested by parents or guardians to mention some book combining innocent amusement with useful instruction, to be placed in the hands of young people, especially boys, we do not remember one of its size which we could recommend with more implicit confidence in its genuine worth than this. We are not aware of having read any of the author's previous works, but we regard "Boys of Eaglewood" as worthy of comparison with the happiest efforts of Maria Edgeworth, in the same rich field and noble cause.

It is no new notion of ours that ladies of talent and cultu[illegible] have a taste for the good work, not only equal the lords of cre[illegible] writing books for the entertainment and instruction of youth, bu[illegible] excel the best of them. Nor need we mention now, in illustrat[illegible]

the fact, Madame de Stael, Madame de Sevigné, Anna Maria Porter, Mrs. Sigourney, Hannah More, etc., for it is sufficiently illustrated in the unpretending volume before us.

There are none that know anything of the school life of boys, who, on perusing Miss Guernsey's book, will not admit that she has portrayed it with remarkable fidelity. Indeed, the perusal of one chapter is all the examination of the volume we should require from any competent judge before claiming his concurrence in our opinion as to the superiority of "Boys of Eaglewood" to three-fourths of the books written, with the same avowed design, by men who claim to possess both learning and literary talent. Take chapter iv., for instance. In this the difficulties and dangers of "the new scholar" are depicted so vividly as almost to make one feel that he has a personal interest in them. Chancey Waldo is no mere portraiture, but a veritable, living type; such a real boy of flesh and blood as cannot be confounded with any of his ordinary playmates. Another well drawn character is Joe Fenton.

But it is the useful lessons, that are rendered so attractive as to seem all play, while making impressions not easily effaced, which prompt us most strongly to recommend the book as one of the best of its kind we have read for years.

BELLES-LETTRES.

Ellie Laura; or, *The Border Orphan. A Drama.* By Rev. JAMES O'LEARY, D.D. 16mo, pp. 41. New York: P. O'Shea.

THE author modestly tells us in his preface that this "is an attempt to meet a demand for amusement and instruction in Catholic educational institutions." In our opinion it is a successful attempt, if success consists in producing a piece that possesses genuine merit. But we see no reason why it should be confined to Catholic institutions; and we know the author is sufficiently liberal, charitable, and philanthropic to have no objection to its affording "amusement and instruction" even to heretical boys and girls, such as juvenile Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, etc. Accordingly, we will extract a passage or two here and there, so that all denominations may judge for themselves whether "Ellie Laura" is so deeply tinged with popery as

not to be worthy of the perusal even of the most zealous anti-popery people. But let us first give an extract from the preface, which will serve as the "argument" of the piece:

"There are but three scenes; one in a school-room, one by the bank of a river, and one in an Indian wigwam. The drama is founded on fact, the saving of the white settlers along the Illinois river by Shabnaye during the Black Hawk war. Ellie Laura is a fictitious character, and a representative of the sufferings, the vicissitudes, and the combinations that have taken place in settling our vast Western country. The plot, the characters, and the moral of this drama, are remitted to the judgment of the public, and *may be found to possess a living interest for the inhabitants of Illinois along the Illinois river.* The songs have been set to music by a Sister of St. Joseph's Academy."

We place in italics one remark, because we think that the drama has, or at least ought to have, a living interest for the inhabitants of the shores of rivers much nearer home than the Illinois—for those of the shores of the Hudson, for example.

We are sincerely glad to learn that the songs have been set to music by a sister of St. Joseph's Academy, Brooklyn. If the St. Joseph's Academy means the Brooklyn Academy of the Visitation, we know that there are sisters at that institution eminently capable of performing an intellectual task much more difficult than setting those really pretty lyrics to music. The first scene opens with a soliloquy by the heroine, from which we snatch a fragment or two:

"Am I alone?
From the unseen recesses of my heart
A melancholy mist of thoughts exhales
To ever vapor and bedew my brain.
Am I in company? The sunshine fair
Of fair companions' faces, rests on me,
As beams upon the deep and troubled sea."

* * *

"But how know I what is, or is to be,
Away in that impenetrable void?
Why fly from what I see and most admire
To seek a solace of fantastic form?
The past is changeless, changeless what to come;
Time, as a river flows, and by the stream
Of my existence is a margin, marred!
With thoughts which now recede and now approach,
As bluffs that grimly guard the banks
Of yon blue, deep, wide-sweeping Illinois."

* * *

"Ye virgin leas,
Ye unmolested and untrodden groves,
Ye boundless wilds, ye prairie-wandering streams,
Whose magic life and spell my spirit feels,
Can ye not make my sullen spirit smile?" (p. 10).

We admit that we do not do justice to the author in thus breaking up the soliloquy of "Ellie Laura;" but we have done so only because we have not room for the whole. Sister Teresa does what she can to cheer Ellie. Knowing that pleasant exercise in the open air is good for her, she urges the advantages of an excursion trip. We can only make room for a line or two:

> "The air abroad no murky aspect wears,
> But a serenely sweet bewitching smile
> Laughs on the face of nature" (p. 11).

In Scene II., on the banks of the Illinois, the baneful consequences of intemperance are discussed; and Sister Stanislaus denounces, as follows, those who, in order to secure the good will, or the money, of the poor Indian, give him intoxicating drink:

> "It is a shame,
> A degradation of America,
> To brutalize the savage, and instil
> Into his rude and undeveloped soul,
> The passions that true Christian manhood stain.
> I'd much rather be a wild red man,
> With nature rude and uncontaminate,
> Than a foul pestilential poison thus!
> The wild red man may roam the darkest woods—
> They speak to him of God and liberty!" (p. 24).

We have had the pleasure and the advantage of discussing educational topics with more than one Sister Stanislaus possessed of sufficient talent and culture to improvise lines quite as good as these; nor do we mean by this to gainsay the appropriateness and force of the passage just quoted. We should be glad to transfer to our pages several of the lyrics, but we can only make room for one. Ellie Laura being still more pensive and sad than usual Black Gown asks what is the matter. Sister Stanislaus suggests that she may explain the cause in verse, and the result is as follows:

> "To know is mine, but to assuage in vain.
>
> "*Song.*
>
> "I am a lone and orphan child,
> And I am sad as few:
> When young, my home was in the wild
> That skirts sweet Avondhu.
>
> "And I was forced to cross the main
> And wander to the West,
> Till wandering on I found it vain
> To find one spot of rest.

"No fields, no flowers, no streams, no skies,
Can paint or bless the view,
Since there's a spell for me where lies
My home by Avondhu.

"My mother lives by foreign shore,
Or moulders by the main;
My father I shall see once more,
Unless my hope is vain.

"I am a lone and orphan child,
And I am sad as few;
When young, my home was in the wild
That skirts sweet Avondhu" (pp. 25, 26).

These stanzas alone would fully justify our estimate of "Ellie Laura;" we think, moreover, that they will prove a sufficient passport into many a Protestant household, as well as into many a Protestant educational institution. Yet it is for female Catholic institutions, like those of Manhattanville and Mount St. Vincent, that we would particularly recommend the sprightly and pretty drama, because we think it a much better and more suitable book in the hands of innocent young ladies than catechisms setting forth the amours of Jupiter, Mars, Juno, Venus, Circe, etc.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Encyclopædia of Chronology, Historical and Biographical. By B. B. WOODWARD, B.A., late Librarian to the Queen, and WILLIAM L. R. CATES, Editor of the "Dictionary of General Biography." 8vo., pp. 496. Boston: Lee & Shepard; New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham. 1872.

So far as number and variety are concerned, there is no lack of works on chronology whether they be called encyclopædias, dictionaries or hand-books. We have at least a dozen in our own library, including English, American, French, and German, and among the number are the best hitherto published. Our readers are aware that the habit of recommending an inferior work as superior, is not one of our faults; and we think we may also claim that it is not our habit to recommend any book, or to give our opinion of it in any form until we have first carefully examined it.

We certainly have not done so in the present instance, although, had we permitted ourselves to be satisfied with circumstantial evidence, we had excellent reasons for regarding the work before us, at least, as belonging to the best class of its kind. The great London house

of Longmans, Green & Co. are not likely to be the publishers of a second-rate work of reference—a work that undertakes to enlighten the author, the scholar, the scientist, the orator, the teacher, the editor. But had there been no imprint on the new Encyclopædia, the high prestige of each of its compilers as a scholar and investigator would have been regarded by any intelligent person as presumptive evidence of its worth.

Then another circumstance well calculated to inspire confidence in its favor is the character of the American house which has undertaken its introduction into this country. As the Messrs Lee & Shepard publish no monthly or weekly pamphlets for their own glorification, but depend on the ordinary legitimate means of communicating with the public, they are not so widely known as other publishers; but there are few of the readers of standard books who are not aware that they are men of education and culture, who know how to cater, precisely for the classes for which works like that before us are intended. We may remark, incidentally, that if there be any of our readers who are not aware of this fact, we can assure them that what the highly honorable and justly famous house of Ticknor & Fields *was* under the guidance of Mr. Ticknor, that of Lee & Shepard is at the present day, and that, as in the case of Marcellus in the olden time, the fame of the new Modern Athens house grows imperceptibly, like a healthy tree in rich soil, for the good reason that, as honest Boileau has it—

> " Dans le monde il n'est rien de beau que l'equité
> Sans elle la valeur, la force, la bouté
> Et toutes les vertus dont l'eblouit la terre,
> Ne sont que faux brillants et que morceaux de verre."

Although we had a right to expect much from all this, we have not been the less careful in our examination of the "Encyclopædia of Chronology." We will first extract a passage from the preface in order that our readers may see what they are promised:

> "It contains the dates of the events which mark the rise, progress, decline, and fall of states, and the changes in the fortunes of nations. Alliances, wars, battles, sieges, and treaties of peace, geographical discoveries, the settlement of colonies and their subsequent story, with all occurrences of general historic interest, are recorded in it. It further includes the dates of discoveries in every department of science, and of inventions and improvements, mechanical, social, domestic, and economical. In addition to these, and forming a prominent feature of the work, are notices of eminent men, with the leading incidents of their lives, and the principal works, literary, scientific, and artistic, by which they have obtained distinction. This portion of the work will, it is hoped, be found to meet the want long felt of a copious and accurate biographical date-book."

It is high praise, we know, to say that all this is fully justified by the multifarious contents of the work; but not to acknowledge the fact would be unjust. We find interesting instances at almost every page of the strict impartiality of the compilers. Even when the relative prowess of the British and the French is the topic the characteristic British love of "fair play" is admirably illustrated. Take for example the following:

"**Sebastopol, Sevastopol,** *in the Crimea*,—founded by Catherine II., 1786—invested by allied fleets, 28 Sep. 1854—bombardment commenced, 18 Oct.—the fleets damaged by hurricane, 14 Nov.—sortie repulsed, night of 22 Mar., 1855—second bombardment commenced, 9 Apr.—third, 6 Jun.—the Quarries before the Redan stormed by British, and the Mamelon captured by French, 7 Jun.—unsuccessful attack on the Redan, 18 Jun.—last bombardment, 5 Sep.—capture of the Malakhoff by French, 8 Sep.—unsuccessful attack on Great Redan by British, 8 Sep.—south side of the city evacuated and defences blown up, 8-9 Sep.—restoration of fortifications prohibited by Treaty of Paris, Mar. 1856."

If an English writer of the present day were partial, or prejudiced on any subject, it might well be supposed that he would be so on the "Alabama" and Alabama Claims. Accordingly we transcribe the two following paragraphs, which speak for themselves:

"**Alabama,** *Confederate corvette*,—built at Liverpool, sails before 29 Jul. 1862—government orders to prevent her sailing, sent, 29 Jul.—18 Federal vessels fitted out for capture of, close of 1862—sunk by the *Kearsage*, off Cherbourg, 19 Jun. 1864.

"**Alabama Claims,**—diplomatic discussion of, between United States and Great Britain, begins, summer 1865—convention for settlement of, signed at London, 10 Nov. 1868—rejected by U. S. Senate, before 30 Nov.—second convention, signed, 14 Jan. 1869—rejected by Senate, 13 Apr. 1869."

We cannot more satisfactorily show the freedom of the compilers from sectarian prejudice, and at the same time give an idea of their thoroughness of research and accuracy of statement than by copying the article on the great Italian discoverer:

"**Galilei, Galileo,** *astronomer, natural philosopher*,—b. at Pisa, 18 Feb. 1564—enters the Univ. of Pisa, 5 Nov. 1581—discovers isochronism of the vibrations of the pendulum, about 1582—lecturer on Mathematics, Pisa, 1589—Prof. Mathematics, Padua, Sep. 1592—his friendship with Kepler begins, 1597—invents the thermometer, about 1603—constructs his first telescope, 1609—named Prof. at Padua for life, 1609—discovers satellites of Jupiter, 7 Jan. 1610—discovers spots on the sun, probably Apr.,[a] Mar.[b] 1611—mathematician to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, removes to Florence, 1611—visits Rome, early in 1611—appears there to answer charges of the Inquisition, 1615—has audience of the Pope (Paul V.,) Mar. 1616—visits Rome, has

audiences of Urban VIII., Easter 1624—summoned by the Inquisition, Feb. 1633—sentence of the Inquisition passed, abjuration of Galileo, 22 Jun. 1633—returns to Arcetri, Dec. 1633—loses his Daughter, Apr. 1634—becomes blind, 1637—d. at Arcetri, 8 Jan. 1642—*Sidereus Nuncius*, 1610—*Dialogo sopra i du Masimi Sistemi del Mondo*, 1632—*Discorso e Demostr. intorno alle due nuove Scienze*, 1638—*Della Scienza Meccanica*, 1649—*Trattato della Sfera*, 1655.

Some regard English writers as disposed to disparage the claims of Ireland to all things calculated to do her credit. We have never entertained any such opinion except in regard to third or fourth-rate writers; on the contrary, we deny that there is not a single first-class English author, male or female, who is not rather generous to old Erin than otherwise. But we think that the most persistent and conscientious hater of the Saxon will admit that there is nothing disparaging, or deserving of hate, in the following sketch of Innisfail's early story:

"**Ireland**, (*Ir*, *Eri*, *Erin*,) (Greek, *Ierne*, Latin, *Hibernia*, *Juverna*,)—described by Pomponius Mela, about 50?—its inhabitants, the *Scots*, make descents on Britain and Gaul, between 350-430—mission of **Palladius**, about 431—mission of **St. Patrick**, about 440-460[a]—ravaged and the churches plundered by Northumbrians, 684[b]—descent of Northmen on, 748,[c] 795[b]—[**Danes**]—**Anlaf** establishes his supremacy in 853[b]—ravaged by Northmen, 905—defeat of Northmen at Tara, 980—**Brien Boru**, king of, defeats Northmen at Clontarf and is killed, 1014—MALACHI succeeds him, 1014—and d., 1022[c]—Godred Chronan establishes himself in, 1068—Waterford seat of a bishopric by Ostmen, 1096—invaded by **Magnus III.** of Norway, who is defeated and killed, Aug. 1103—O'CONNOR the Great acknowledged King, 1136[c]—invaded by Godred of Man, 1143—supremacy of Rome acknowledged by Synod of Kells, 1152—Henry II. of England authorized by Pope Adrian IV. to undertake conquest of, 1155—MURLOCH O'LOCHLIN, 1156—succeeded by RODERICK O'CONNOR, 1166—**Dermot Mac Murrough** seeks aid of Henry II., 1168—English invasion under Fitzgerald and Fitzstephen, associates of Richard de Clare, Jun. 1169—[**Strongbow**]—invasion of **Henry II.**, 18 Oct. 1171—English slaves set at liberty: HENRY is acknowledged King at Council of Cashel, 6 Nov. 1171—Hugh de Lacy appointed governor, 1173—divided into twelve counties: general insurrection, 1174—promulgation of bull of Adrian IV., and submission of chiefs to Henry II., 1175."

The whole article occupies more than three columns, bringing down the historical events of that still unhappy country to August, 1870. In the article on New York, we have the item, "Orange and Catholic riots suppressed by military, 12th July, 1871," but, strange to say,

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"[a] Humboldt. [b] Drinkwater."

not a word about "Bismarck" Sweeny, "Doge" Hall, "Boss" Tweed, or "Reformer" Green! These are, of course, important omissions; nevertheless, we do not hesitate to recommend the work as the best of its kind it has ever been our privilege to examine.

Typographic Messenger. A Quarterly Magazine of the Typographic Art. James Connor's Sons, Publishers, New York City. Vol. vii, No. 2. April, 1872.

As this is a Quarterly, it may be suspected that we are actuated by jealousy if we say that its literary department is a little out of joint; or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say that it seems to partake somewhat of the miraculous, especially in view of its Latin motto, which tells us that, although spoken words perish, writings endure. Be this as it may, both on the title page and on the cover, the "Typograpic Messenger" is dated April, 1872. Thus it greets us at page 25 as the April number; and yet at page 27 we have an obituary notice of the late Mr. Bennett, in which we are told that "the first of June witnessed the decease of the well-known publisher of the New York "Herald." After informing us, further, that Mr. Bennett was celebrated for "enterprise in news gathering," the "Messenger" adds that the funeral did not take place till the thirteenth of the month.

Now if it be remembered, that in order to be "progressive," an American magazine is supposed to be all written, and generally published, at least, three weeks prior to the date on its cover and title page, it must be admitted that the editor of the periodical before us seems liberally endowed with the prophetic gift. True, it may be alleged, that if so, it is the only gift necessary or useful for an editor, of which he furnishes any decided evidence in his April number.

Still there are some excellent things in the "Typographic Messenger"—its instalment of the History of Printing, for instance. But, in our opinion, the best things it contains are its really beautiful specimens of the various kinds of type which have made the foundry of the Messrs. Connor justly celebrated in all parts of this continent. It has also the recommendation of being the publication of an honest man—one whom the temptations incident to officeholding in New York could not corrupt, or induce to swerve from the path of rectitude and honor.

APPENDIX—INSURANCE, GOOD, BAD AND INDIFFERENT.

Seventeenth Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, January 1, 1872. *Part II. Life and Accident Insurance.* Boston: Wright & Potter. 1872.

THE Scandinavians have a fable which runs thus: Thor, the god of thunder and retribution, once became indisposed, so that for several days none of his bolts were seen or felt. The pirates who then infested the North Sea soon became aware of what they regarded as a most auspicious event. A meeting of all the brethren was immediately convened, and the most unscrupulous robber was chosen by acclamation to preside. After some appropriate speeches had been delivered, a sort of *Te Deum* was unanimously voted and sent to Odin, gratefully thanking that supreme deity for having so afflicted the naughty Thor that he could do no mischief to so industrious and worthy a body as themselves, and praying that his affliction would be indefinitely prolonged—at least long enough to enable them to lay in a sufficient provision against the storms of winter, when the business of ship-scuttling became dull. But the *Te Deum* had scarcely been sung to Odin, when the bolts of Thor began to fly again in all directions, and the first of the pirates struck with one was their worthy chief!

We are not, we trust, either so impious or so vain as to compare ourselves to so great and formidable a divinity as the mighty Thor, further than to say that we, too, had an attack of illness which, although not of a very serious nature in other respects, had the effect of obliging us to omit our Appendix from last June number—the first time that omission had been made in eight years. We will not say that the pirates have held any meeting to thank Odin for having afflicted us; but we have the most reliable assurances that a large number of their kindred, the land sharks, have become almost frantic with joy. It seems, for instance, that Batterson, of the Traveller's, the great accidental insurer, worked himself up into such a state of joyful frenzy that he broke one of his finest tombstones. Winston, of the Mutual, was so much rejoiced that he forgot to attend a very important meeting of the Bible Society—a meeting designed to render unusual spiritual service to the heathen off at the source of the Nile, and consequently very effectual as a whitewashing agency for injured reputations. Freeman, of the Globe Mutual, Protection Mutual, and

Reserve Mutual, manufactured in one day a whole gross of "nonforfeitable" policies, and resolved to be the father, or rather the step-father, of at least three more "purely mutual" companies! Walker, of the Universal, determined to be more "universal" than ever, at least in dust-throwing and exchanging brass for gold, on the stock principle. North, of the Asbury, issued an order for five thousand of those blank forms, whose appropriate motto is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things *not seen*." Bucklin, of the Economical, swore that he would be more "economical" than ever, when called upon for payment by the widow or the orphan. Ex-Alderman Franklin, of the New York Life, ordered the manufacture of yet another pamphlet to abuse the most honorable of that worthy company's rivals, and directed a new clause to be inserted in its policies, presenting increased inducements to its insane policy holders to commit suicide. We can make no further additions this time to the "roll of honor," although there are several other "protectors" of the widow and orphan quite as meritorious as those mentioned, who would be rejoiced to learn that our "Appendix" would forever continue to be—omitted. But, even in so hurried a sketch, we must not forget the name of Griswold, of the Hartford Life and Annuity, a gentleman who combines the business of selling cheap dry goods, "yankee notions," etc., with that of selling cheap policies of insurance and cheap annuities. It seems this worthy person pledged himself to sell no more calico, but henceforth to devote all his brilliant talents—fortified by his superior intelligence, his refined and elegant Bowery manners—to the protection of the widow and orphan from all other animals of the shark species!

Some may imagine that all this exultation at the supposed discontinuance of our attentions to the "good, bad and indifferent" among insurers has displeased us. Such is by no means the case, however; and the best evidence of the fact is that we are at this moment as ready as ever to recommend the commodities of the exultants. Thus, for example, we inform all whom it may concern that, although the promises and pretensions of Batterson as an insurer are very much like those of a quack doctor, yet he gets up some very handsome tombstones. If we never had much faith in Winston's devotion to the widow and the orphan, it is not the less true that we regard the tracts, which he aids so well in sending to the heathen, are very excellent things, and might possibly do good to certain parties much nearer home than Africa. If we cannot recommend the non-forfeitable policies of Freeman's brood of companies as of any great service to either widows or

orphans, we are willing to recommend them to those to whom they would be very useful, namely, our trunk manufacturers and retail grocers. If we fear that the "annuities" of Griswold & Co. would not prove very regular in their payment, or likely to continue for a very long period, most cheerfully do we admit that his twenty-five cent calico is a genuine article—not "shoddy," but honest cotton—just as honest, though not quite so elegant or so aristocratic as Batterson's tombstones.

We feel that we have all the more reason to be thus good-humored towards those who exult in our affliction when we bear in mind that none of those underwriters whose character is above reproach, entertain, or have ever entertained, any such feeling in regard to us, but always the reverse. It is no idle boast that, among underwriters as well as among politicians, statesmen, educators, authors, etc., the best men are our friends. Never yet have we assailed an upright, honorable man in any sphere of life; and never have we been assailed by one pretending to be honorable who has not proved, in due time, to have fully deserved the brand we had set upon him. But before we indulge in any contrasts, by way of illustration, let us turn our attention for a moment to the pamphlet before us.

It is a great satisfaction, at least to the Insurance community, if not to the general public, to receive the Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioner of Massachusetts—Hon. Julius L. Clarke. This gentleman is known in the insurance world as an honest, intelligent official, who is laboring with his utmost zeal to purify his State from insolvent corporations, to the end that the public good may be subserved, and private interests, whether in life, fire, or marine insurance, be properly protected.

The Massachusetts' Life Report for 1872, which gives the standing and ratios of the various companies transacting business in that State, January 1, is a volume, the contents of which will compare favorably with, and in most respects will be found to be superior to, the reports of other State officials upon the same subject. The great objection to this and all other reports on life assurance, is that they exhibit on the part of their authors, a great desire to be considered authority upon a subject about which, in general, they know but little or nothing. The duty of an insurance commissioner, it seems to us, is plain; it is to call for and collate facts under the laws regulating life, fire and marine insurance, and not to discuss the principles of insurance, its necessity or its value, or take sides for or against any particular mode of

conducting business. This is the vital question: "Are the assets of the various companies of such a character that I (the commissioner) can safely recommend to the public to whom, through the legislature, my report is made, to insure in them their lives and property?" If the assets do not come up to a standard adopted by the several States, then the answer must be in the negative. If the assets are of a high character, a fact which can easily be established by reference to financial authority, then it is the duty of the commissioner to say that he finds the corporations solvent, by which is meant, by implication, that he endorses their standing. There is reason to find serious fault with the labored essays upon life insurance which emanate from incompetent officials at our State capitals. There is nothing in the mode of life or education of an insurance commissioner, with one or two exceptions, to give him any special standing in the community, over and above any intelligent person who has read the prospectus of a well regulated life company. It is exceedingly to be regretted that the office of insurance commissioner has been prostituted and made the vehicle of conveying to the public individual ideas upon life insurance.

The first few pages of the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Commissioner (Life and Accident insurance), are mostly tabular statements of the condition of the various companies transacting business in that State. These tabular statements, so easily understood by an adept, are sufficient to blind any ordinary mortal, and there would be little use in transferring them to our pages. A full statement of the standing of companies—or their solvency—is all we have to do with in an official document like this. There is no company doing business in Massachusetts which, according to a valuation of its liabilities by the Actuaries' Table of Mortality, interest at four per cent., does not show an excess of assets over liabilities. The five Massachusetts companies exhibit an average of $111.66 of assets for every one hundred dollars of its liabilities. The companies of other States, forty-nine in number, exhibit an average of $111.20 of assets to every one hundred dollars of liabilities. Assuming that the character of the assets is good—and this is where the opinion of the insurance commissioner or inspector is vital to the public interest, then it follows that every company doing business in Massachusetts is solvent. If the commissioner has not scrutinized the investments thoroughly, then he is derelict in his duty to the public, and should insolvency occur through his neglect, he will be held morally accountable. No commissioner can afford to take for granted

the sworn statements of the officers of any corporation, if he have any suspicion thereof. An honest and well managed corporation will not hesitate to exhibit its funds to any official empowered to carry on an investigation. Any hesitation on the part of a life company to afford the commissioner the fullest information of its affairs, should be followed instantly by a thorough investigation, for where there is smoke, there must fire be also.

Having examined that portion of the commissioner's report which is of value, and upon which we have commented as above, there remains very little important for the public to know. As to modes of procuring business—new schemes, tontine dividends, savings bank life insurance, and a variety of other topics upon which the commissioner discourses—they are no more within his province to discuss in an official publication, than the contents of Webster's Dictionary, and they are of no more value.

If our criticism of what we conceive to be the duties and responsibilities of a commissioner appears harsh, we can only say that it is the opinion of at least one-half of the insurance community, who believe the voluminous reports of the insurance officials of the various States to be simply fat jobs for printing, and then food for the waste basket.

No one acquainted with the subject can devote any attention to life insurance in Massachusetts without being reminded of the New England Mutual, which is as much above all other companies of that State as the great Public Library of Boston is above all other Massachusett's libraries. And as the Library is a credit to the Modern Athens, and to the whole State, so, undoubtedly, is this company. Nor is it alone in Boston, or Massachusetts it is regarded in this light, but throughout New England—nay, it is so regarded, by all who know it, throughout the United States. But let us see how it stands in the Report before us as compared with all the other Massachusetts com panies.

SUMMARY OF THE ASSETS, LIABILITIES, AND BALANCES OF THE SEVER COMPANIES, DECEMBER 31, 1871.

NAME OF COMPANY.	LOCATION.	Cash Guarantee Capital.	GROSS ASSETS.	GROSS LIABILITIES.	Surplu as regar Policy-ho
MASSACHUSETTS COS.					
Berkshire	Pittsfield.	$25,500	$1,791,048 05	$1,710,309 43	
John Hancock Mutual	Boston.	100,000	2,162,714 77	1,958,104 98	
Massachusetts Hospital	Boston.	500,000	965,841 83	158,870 40	
Massachusetts Mutual	Springfield		4,074,657 41	3,736,870 16	
New England Mutual	Boston		10,401,791 20	9,157,603 19	1,2
State Mutual	Worcester		1,269,768 78	1,107,810 78	

But no figures speak so well for this company as its always honorable, unblemished character.

On our way to New York from Boston, we take a glance at the condition of affairs in Hartford, which ought henceforth to be called Insurance City. Here we find companies worthy of comparison with the best either New York or Boston can boast of, not excepting even the Manhattan, the Equitable, or the Continental. There was a time when no company anywhere had a higher prestige than the Ætna Life. For years, Mr. Endors, always its principal manager, continued to distinguish himself by enlightened, liberal views as to the just claims of the widow and orphan. But, unhappily, there are some whose heads are not able to bear a high degree of success, and we are sorry that the manager of the Ætna seems to belong to that class. Within the last two years his head has been growing more and more dizzy. We should fain hope that his malady may not come to a crisis; but his recent elevation to the presidency of the company was evidently too much for him. Very soon after that event took place, certain symptoms supervened which are always to be regarded with alarm in such cases. Having no wish to enter into particulars in so delicate a matter, we will confine ourselves, on the present occasion, to the remark that, whereas, in former times, no one was more opposed to litigation than Mr. Endors, he seems to have got it into his head of late, that, next to enriching its officers, the best use that can be made of the money paid to a life company by its policy holders, is to spend it in going to law with the widow to satisfy "impartial" judges that there is some reason or other why her policy of insurance should prove nothing better than an expensive tantalizing hoax! For what Mr. Endors had been before he began to imitate the practices of such widow protectors as Batterson, Bucklin, Griswold, etc., we sincerely hope that he will resume his old, honest and honorable plan of giving the policy holders their own money, instead of squandering it on lawyers.

In the meantime the Phœnix Mutual continues as straightforward, liberal and energetic as ever; and to this we need hardly add, that it continues prosperous and progressive; what is perhaps better still for its policy holders, its managing officers have heads which cannot be turned. Neither Mr. Fessenden nor Mr. Burns is made dizzy or pompous by success. On the contrary, the more successful they are, the more courteous, the more unwilling to enter the courts, even when they have good reason to do so. Now what are the comparative results of the two lines of conduct? Our readers know that we have

often indicated the wonderful progress made by the Ætna before the symptoms alluded to began to manifest themselves in its manager—that is before he began to adopt the policy of our great "reformer," Andrew Green—the policy of paying no claim that could be evaded by the quibbles of lawyers. Then it was in advance of the Phœnix in increase of business, because at no time has the latter company been in greedy haste to get rich. Like our own Manhattan, it has always preferred a solid foundation to a showy superstructure; like that sterling company, it has preferred that its progress should be sure and safe, rather than fast. Still it is in advance of the Ætna at this moment in the best test of prosperity and progress. In illustration of this, we snatch a few figures from one of the most important tables in the Massachusetts report. Under the head of "Summary of New Business done," etc., there are some Arabic characters which we place side by side, thus:

	Increase or Decrease over 1870	
	No. of Policies.	Amount Insured.
Ætna	—655	—$3,488,156 00
Phœnix Mutual	+943	+ ,029,752 00*

These figures with the signs prefixed to them, tell their own story. The most careless, intelligent reader will observe that while those of the Ætna are "negative quantities," those of the Phœnix are "positive quantities." In other words, while the Ætna figures show decrease, the Phœnix figures show increase. What is instructive as well as remarkable is the fact that the falling off on the part of the former is very nearly in proportion to the increase of the deplorable dizziness, or hallucination of its once excellent manager.

The Connecticut Life is very much like the Mutual of New York, in the immense difference between its promises and its performances. But as the Phœnix has presented a contrast to the Ætna since the latter has altered its plan of operations, so has the Charter Oak always presented a contrast to the Connecticut, by its straightforward, up-

* Mass. Rep., p. viii.

right dealing with its policy holders. Although Mr. Walkley is a lawyer himself, and had long practiced at the bar with distinguished success, no underwriter has less taste for going before the courts to resist claims. Indeed, no one who is any judge of human nature and has any faith in the "human face divine," as a mirror of the heart, could see that gentleman, and converse with him for half an hour without feeling satisfied that he is incapable of wronging the widow, whose most important interests are committed to his care.

In returning to New York, we are reminded of a circumstance which is somewhat noteworthy. One of the sharpest and most honest of the insurance journals has discovered in 1872, what we discovered in 1862, namely, that there are underwriters in New York and elsewhere, vastly more honest than Winston, of the Mutual Life. This discovery, at the eleventh hour, by one who delivered, regularly, once a month, for several years, at least one eulogy of enormous extent on the numerous virtues of that personage, must be regarded as a highly remarkable feat. Some may think that the Insurance Times has been rather slow in making that discovery, and that its editor cannot boast much on account of it, either of his eyes or his ears. The Insurance Monitor, however, has a very different idea of the affair; for that very impartial journal rewards the discoverer only by considering his case under the head of "Editorial Insanity," and belaboring him with abuse for having thus gone wrong in the head! "Call him insane," says that incorruptible moralist, "and let it pass at that. Speak not of *ingratitude* when one turns upon his *best benefactor*, and, with a deliberation and persistence inconceivable, strives to rob him of his life-work, while with the tongue of a serpent he spits venom and fury in the endeavor to cover *his good name* with obloquy!"

Ah, how handsome! But the tirade, of which this is but a small sample, is somewhat spoiled in its effect by the enormous puff of the Mutual Life, which immediately follows it. That, however, we have nothing to do with; we readily acknowledge that the Monitor has a perfect right to devote four columns more, or twenty columns, to the same subject since its stomach can so well bear that sort of thing. Our readers are aware that while the Insurance Times praised all rich companies alike, we never quoted a word of its praise, even in those instances in which we knew it was well deserved. Now, however, we view its testimony in a different light, and accordingly we do not hesitate to extract the following paragraph from an article in last month's number, on a company which we have always held in high estimation,

and which the more we learn about it the stronger becomes our faith in its genuine worth :

"No corporation stands higher in public estimation than the Manhattan Life, and its glorious record and great popularity are owing simply and wholly to the entire devotion of its management and operation of its plans to the true interests of the insured. The truth of this assertion is attested by great and incontrovertible facts; by its payment of over four million dollars to the widows, orphans, and families of its deceased policyholders; by its return to the insured in dividends of over three million dollars; by its immense, unprecedented, absolute growth at the rate of nearly eight hundred thousand dollars a year; by its annual income of two and a half million dollars; by its solid assets of eight millions invested in the best securities in the country, yielding interest exceeding the total expenditure by $130,000, or 70 per cent.; by the ratio of its expense to income, about 11¼ per cent., or two-thirds less than that of other companies; by the smallness of its losses through death, showing a still lower proportion; by its adoption of every real improvement in life insurance, and finally, by its clear surplus, above reinsurance and all other liabilities whatever, exceeding one and a half million dollars, and comparatively greater than that of any other company in the State."

This has the recommendation of being strictly true in every essential particular; and it might have been added, that of all the companies mentioned in the report before us the surplus of the Manhattan is the largest, in proportion to the number of its policy holders and the amount it insures. But were we actuated by malice, or any such feeling, we should much rather have extracted a passage from one of the articles in the same number (August) of the Insurance Times, relative to the boasted "assets," etc., of the Mutual Life, especially as those articles are more than corroborative of the worst charges we have ever made against that corporation. But we have not the least wish to do the Mutual Life, or any other company, any further injury than may result from putting the public on its guard, in a fair and legitimate manner, against plans and habits which seem to us decidedly illegitimate.

While the United States Life was very differently managed from what it is now, we deemed it our duty to make some criticisms upon it. We did so once, after its present manager took charge of it, but it was before we had any adequate idea of the intelligent, energetic, persevering, straightforward character of that gentleman. At all events, since the company began to evince those evidences of renewed vigor and vitality, which are now recognized by the most careless observer, none have been more willing than we to congratulate its able and manly president on his very brilliant success. In illustration of this success, we take pleasure in copying the following:

'ATEMENT OF BUSINESS of United States Life Insurance Company for the months of July and August, 1872, compared with the corresponding months of 1871 :

	POLICIES.	AMOUNT.
ıly, 1872	191	$468,540
ıly, 1871	161	354,590
nuary to July, 1872	1,839	$3,835,345
nuary to July, 1871	1,110	2,517,525
ıgust, 1872	159	$389,140
ıgust, 1871	141	287,640
ıgust, 1870	26	43,630
nuary to August, 1872	1,998	$4,224,485
nuary to August, 1871	1,251	2,805,165
nuary to August, 1870	315	563,730

This is a record which the new president may well be proud of, ren when he bears in mind how much he had accomplished as e general agent of the Phœnix Mutual; and as long as he con- ıues to pursue the same honorable conrse which has distin- ıished him, thus far, in one position as well as the other, it will be e interest of the public that he continue to exhibit a large increase the monthly issue of his policies.

Another company which we had occasion to criticise under its for ıer management, and which we readily admit deserves praise instead censure under its new management, is the Guardian Mutual. We ay be mistaken, but we think the chief credit for this improvement due to its intelligent and energetic secretary; although so modest is r. McAdams, that he would give it to any of his colleagues rather an take it himself. The Guardian is unpretending; it has no taste play the braggart; but what it promises it has both the honesty and ıe ability to perform.

Yet another company, which we have censured in the past, but hich is now pursuing a course we regard as praiseworthy, is the North merica Life. We confess that when a man of talent and education ems to us to deviate from the path of rectitude we are much more sposed to censure him than we are to censure one whom we regard as ually a transgressor, but destitute of both talent and education. It is ue that, as the president of the Manhattan Life, we had every reason think highly of Mr. Morgan; so that, bearing in mind our experience his successor in that position, it has often occurred to us since that seems old Manhattan could have no president who would not be ırteous and friendly to us. But lately we have known more about

the vice-president of the North America than about its president; and most cheerfully do we admit that our knowledge of that gentleman has inspired us with more confidence in the integrity and fair dealing of the company than we had for years previously—although, like other men whose modesty is equal to their ability and worth, Mr. Merrill gives all the credit to Mr. Morgan. Not doubting that each of the officers may justly claim a share, we are sincerely glad to know that the plan of registering its policies, so that their value may be guaranteed by the State—thus rendering them as good as a bank bill—has contributed largely, by its popularity, to the strength and solidity of the North America.

The National Life of New York never made large or loud pretensions; accordingly, those who do not know the difference between words and deeds in life insurance are apt to judge it unfavorably. For our part, we do not pretend to count the money that any company has, either in bank or office, to meet its liabilities; but there are no two underwriters in whose abilities and integrity we have stronger faith than we have in the president and vice-president of the National; and this faith is the result of ten years' experience and observation. No one understands the philosophy of life insurance more thoroughly than Mr. Edward A. Jones, and there are but few who possess in a higher degree the faculty of elucidating its principles, whether by pen or tongue. Upon the other hand, we know no underwriter who understands the secret of selecting long-lived, reliable holders for his policies better than Mr. J. O. Halsey. Accordingly our faith in the National remains unshaken; so that if any calamity should ever befall it we should feel certain that it was not caused by lack of talent, lack of energy, or lack of integrity, on the part of its officers.

Most assuredly this is more than we could say of the Hope Mutual; for the manager of the former is as different from the manager of the latter as gold is from pot-metal, or as the giant is from the pigmy—so different, indeed, that for some time past we have been of opinion that the Hope Mutual cannot change its name too soon to that of the "Hopeless Mutual," or the "Faithless Mutual," whichever it thinks may most truly represent its peculiar plans; that is, if truth be not an element entirely foreign to its programme!

Since our last issue Mr. Erastus Lyman has resigned, on account of prolonged ill health, the presidency of the Knickerbocker Life, a position, the duties of which he had discharged faithfully and efficiently since the organizing of the company in 1853. No company in

the world had the advantage of a presiding officer of more refined manners, or more conciliatory, amiable disposition than Mr. Lyman. Since the retirement of this gentleman we know only two of the officers of the Knickerbocker—Mr. George T. Sniffen, its secretary, and Mr. John A. Nichols, its general agent for the Southeastern States. For many years we have entertained a high opinion of the abilities and worth of each. Mr. Nichols we have known still longer than we have Mr. Lyman himself, whom he much resembles in the polished suavity and attractiveness of his manners. Further than what may be expected from the influence of two such men—especially from one possessed of so much talent and ability as Mr. Nichols—we know nothing now of the prospects of the Knickerbocker, but sincerely hope, from our agreeable reminiscenes of its past history, under the skilful and successful guidance of Mr. Lyman, that they will prove eminently favorable.

As for the Equitable Life and New York Continental Life there is no question among competent, impartial judges, either as to the ability with which they are managed, or the sound, salutary and enduring fruits of their management. In illustration of this we will show how the two companies stand in one of the most important tables in the Massachusetts Report, as compared to one or two of the loudest boasters. Thus, under the head of summary of the insurance outstanding, etc., we find the following results:

	Net Increase or Decrease	
	No. of Policies.	Amount Insured
Continental, New York	+2,295	+$2,703,222 95
Equitable	+2,423	+10,535,676 00
Mutual Benefit	+1,349	+ 1,960,519 89
New York	+1,426	+ 2,373,411 32

We might easily point out differences still more significant; but these will be sufficient for the present. The New York Life is very much misrepresented if it was not "the exciting cause" of certain attacks recently made on the Equitable by one of the most disreputable of the Tammany Ring organs; if not misrepresented, perhaps, it may learn to do better in the future, from the fact that, as may be seen, it was itself, and not the Equitable it injured!

There are many reasons why the New York Continental Life is

popular in New England, especially in Massachusetts. Mr. Lawrence has a wonderful faculty for securing the very best agents—men that are, not only intelligent and energetic, but also of unsullied character, and highly popular among the best classes. This is eminently true, for instance, of Mr. N. Broughton, Jr., of Boston, a gentleman, who, for twenty years, discharged faithfully and efficiently in that city, the responsible and onerous duties of publishing agent for the New England branch of the American Tract Society. For more than seven years of this time, we have known Mr. Broughton intimately, and no where have we known a business man whose character in every respect has impressed us as more exemplary or more worthy of admiration. We note the connection of this gentleman with the Continental as explanatory of one of the secrets of the almost unparallelled success of that company.

But in New York, also, the Continental manages to associate with it our most useful men. We give it credit for this, although we have lost by it ourselves, at least, in one instance. For eight years Mr. Wynkoop printed this journal for us in a manner every way satisfactory, but one day we go down town and learn that he is elected vice-president of the Continental! His well known courtesy and good will toward the customers of his house, induce him to be still disposed to continue to print the National Quarterly, for his first-class establishment remains in the full vigor of operation. But from long habit—a habit which, in the opinion of other printers, spoiled us, by causing us to expect too much—we could not be satisfied there, without the personal supervision of our work by Wynkoop, and so we have to substitute for the best printer in New York, the one who ranks next to him. Now, if the Continental will be good enough not to deprive us of Mr. M. B. Brown, also, to make him second vice-president, and thereby force us to run the risk, again, of being half devoured by the sharks of such establishments as the "*Great* American Printing Company," we will forgive it for the past with as good a grace as we can!

We are sorry to see the Mutual Benefit degenerating, for it was once a fine company—so good that we used to compare it, in turn, to the New England Mutual, the Manhattan, and the Phœnix Mutual. Before long, we fear, we shall have to compare it to such companies as the Homœopathic Mutual, the Metropolitan Mutual, etc. The great difficulty seems to be that the directors and agents, as well as the properly constituted chief officers, are allowed to manage it in turn. Lately it came to the turn of a mem-

ber of that class of mortals which, according to Horace, neither gods nor men, nor booksellers' shops tolerate—

Non homines, non di, non concessere columnæ.

We formerly regarded the Pelican as not a suitable emblem for the Mutual Benefit, but whether it is so now or not, may be judged from the following characteristics ascribed to it by Buffon: "The pelicans," says that great naturalist, "are gregarious, and *fish* is their *favorite food*. They store up their prey *in their gular pouch*, from which it is gradually transferred to the *œsophagus*; but when *harrassed* or *pursued*, they readily eject the *contents of the stomach*, *like the gull tribe*. Though remarkable *for their voracity*, some of the species have been trained *to fish* in the service of man." We shall only ask now, what sort of fish does the Newark pelican prey upon?

We have been at the pains to take full notes for the purpose of illustrating the actual condition of Fire Insurance interests, but the space and time we have devoted to life insurance render it impossible for us to make proper use of them in our present number. But they are such, in general, as will not grow stale in three months; and those interested may rest assured that they will not be overlooked in our next. We can do little more now than merely to mention two or three companies. From the fact that we hold policies ourselves, for which we have duly paid, from the Hope, the Washington, and the Hanover, it may fairly be presumed that we have some knowledge of the character and standing of those companies. After an experience of several years, as a policy-holder of each of the two former companies, we can only say that we have ever found them faithful and honorable; but we can by no means say the same of the latter. Once, indeed, we thought highly of the Hanover, and what we thought we did not hesitate to give expression to in these pages. Whether we are justified in altering our opinion of the Hanoverian plan, of insurance as illustrated in New York our readers may judge from a fact or two: We insure a part of our library in the Hanover office with the clear understanding that when we remove our office the policy will be altered so as to make it equally binding in our new quarters. We remove in May, as we had intended, but are in no hurry to ask the Hanover to alter its policy as it promised to do, not supposing for a moment that it would refuse. It did refuse, however, so that instead of insuring our books for a year, as agreed upon, it only insured them for about half a year! The loss we do not regard as a

serious one; we mention it only for the purpose of putting others on their guard lest they too might have reason to object to the Hanoverian plan. In our opinion, the Hope plan, or the Washington plan, is vastly better, and more honorable.

Some of our insurance journals eulogize the Hanover periodically, in no measured terms; the same journals abuse with equal frequency and zeal the Andes, Amazon and Triumph. According to such high authorities as the Goodsells, Mr. B. S. Walcott, president of the Hanover, is a paragon of honesty and fidelity, and Mr. J. B. Bennett, president of the Andes, Amazon and Triumph, is entirely destitute, not only of honesty and fidelity, but of every other good quality! But good deeds are better than flattering words; and the following extract from an official document now before us, and dated July 1, 1872, tells of the deeds of only one of the abused trio, namely, the Andes:

"In Chicago, 170 claims were paid. In 14 months there was accepted in the finest business portions of the city, less than one risk every other day: $612,510.08 was paid for buildings and stocks in fine stone or brick houses with metal roofs and shutters—Class A and B; $288,670.97 was paid for buildings and stocks in good stone or brick houses, with shingle or composition roofs—Class C; and only $39,644.80 of this heavy loss was in wooden structures."

If it be abuse a record like this deserves, it is not strange that one of the opposite character should elicit high praise. Be this as it may, we confess that we should have much more confidence in the policy of Mr. J. B. Bennett than in that of Mr. B. S. Walcott, although so far as we are aware we have never seen the former gentleman, or any of his colleagues.

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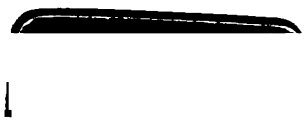
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